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THOUGHTS

ON

CIVIL LIBERTY,

ON

LICENTIOUSNESS,

AND

FACTION.

By the AUTHOR of
ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

——Sed in Vitium Libertas excidit, et Vim
Dignam Lege regi.——

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THOUGHTS

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ON

CIVIL LIBERTY, &c.

SECTION I.

The DESIGN.

THERE are two Cauſes, eſſentially diſtinct, though often interwoven, by which a free State may periſh. Theſe are, *external* and *internal* Violence: *Invaſions* from abroad, or *Diſſentions* at Home: The Rage of foreign *War*, or domeſtic *Faction*.

After a dangerous and exhauſting War, Victory hath at length reſtored Peace to our bleeding Country. But in vain the

Sword of War is ſheathed, if in Time of Peace the Poignard of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction* is drawn, and madly level'd by many of our Countrymen, at the Breaſts of their Fellow-Subjects.

To prevent the fatal Conſequences of this deluded or deluding Spirit, is the Purpoſe of this Eſſay: In which the Writer will endeavour to trace the preſent State of Things to its general Foundations: By pointing out the real Baſis and genuine Characteriſtics of true Liberty; by unmaſquing the Pretences, and laying open the ſecret *Sources* and diſtinctive *Marks* of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

As the political Principles here laid down and inforced, will be found ſtrictly connected with Religion and Morals; no Apology will be made for endeavouring to eſtabliſh the public Happineſs of Mankind on the ſolid Baſis of *Virtue*, which is the *End* of *Religion itſelf*.—In this Point the Writer confirms himſelf on the Authority of an excellent and learned Prelate, whoſe political

political Reſearches were of like Tendency.

"As the Sum of human Happineſs is ſup-
"poſed to conſiſt in the Goods of Mind,
"Body, and Fortune, I would fain make
"my Studies of ſome Uſe to Mankind,
"with Regard to each of theſe three Par-
"ticulars; and hope it will not be thought
"faulty or indecent in any Man, of what
"Profeſſion ſoever, to offer his Mite to-
"wards improving the *Manners* (I will
"add, the *Religion*) *Health*, and *Proſpe-*
"*rity* of his Fellow-Creatures*."

SECT. II.

Of the Nature of Civil Liberty.

TO ſome it will doubtleſs appear a ſuperfluous Labour, to fix the true Idea of *civil Liberty*, in a Country which boaſts itſelf *free*.

* Dr. *Berkeley's* Miſc. p. 118.

Yet the Writer eſteems it a neceſſary, though obvious, Taſk: Not only that he may appeal to his Idea of it, thus eſtabliſhed; but alſo, becauſe in the *Conduct* (at leaſt) if not in the *Writings* of his Countrymen, it ſeems to have been ſometimes miſtaken.

The *natural Liberty* of Man, conſidered merely as a ſolitary and ſavage Individual, would generally lead him to a full and unbounded Proſecution of all his Appetites. Some Savages there are, though few, who live nearly, if not altogether, in this *brutal* State of *Nature*.

Theſe laſt Expreſſions, it muſt be confeſſed, are inadequate to their Subject: For ſuch a State of Man is worſe than that of Brutes, and, in the ſtrict Senſe, is alſo *contrary* to *Nature*. For Brutes are endowed with unerring Inſtincts, which Man poſſeſſeth not: Therefore ſuch a ſolitary and wretched State is ſtrictly *unnatural*; becauſe it prevents the Exertion of thoſe Powers, which his *Nature* is *capable* of *attaining*:

taining: But thoſe *Powers Society* alone can *call forth* into *Action*.

Man is therefore formed for *Society*: That is, Man is formed for Intercourſe with Man: Hence, through the natural Developement of the human Powers, a Variety of new *Wants*, a Neceſſity for mutual *Aids* and diſtinct *Properties*, muſt ariſe: From theſe, a new *Acceſſion*, as well as a frequent *Diſagreement* and *Claſhing* of *Deſires* muſt inevitably enſue. Hence the Neceſſity of *curbing* and *fixing* the *Deſires* of Man in the ſocial State; by ſuch *equal Laws*, as may compel the *Appetites* of each *Individual* to yield to the *common Good* of *all*.

From this ſalutary *Reſtraint*, *civil Liberty* is derived. Every natural Deſire, which might in any reſpect be inconſiſtent with the general Weal, is given up as a voluntary Tax, paid for the higher, more laſting, and more important *Benefits*, which we reap from *ſocial Life*.

SECT. III.

Of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

FROM the Nature of civil Liberty, thus delineated, the Nature of *Licentiouſneſs* will eaſily be fixed: Being indeed no other than "Every Deſire carry'd into "Action, which in any reſpect violates "thoſe equal Laws, eſtabliſhed for the "common Benefit of the Whole."

Thus, an *unlimited Indulgence* of Appetite, which in the *ſavage* State is called *natural Liberty*, in the *ſocial* State is ſtiled *Licentiouſneſs*.

And *Licentiouſneſs*, where its immediate Object is That of "thwarting the Ends "of civil Liberty," is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Faction*.

SECT. IV.

Unaſſiſted Laws no permanent Foundation of Civil Liberty.

THESE Remarks are obvious; and clear to every Man poſſeſſed of the common Degrees of Underſtanding. Let us now conſider, "What are the *perma-* "*nent Foundations* of civil Liberty;" That is, in other Words, "What are the effec- "tual Means by which every Member of "Society may be uniformly ſway'd, im- "pelled, or induced, to ſacrifice his pri- "vate Deſires or Appetites, to the Welfare "of the Public."—This is a Subject, which deſerves a particular Elucidation, becauſe in our own Country, and our own Times, it ſeems to have been *much* and *dangerouſly* miſtaken.

It hath been affirmed as a firſt Principle by certain Writers, and hath been artfully or weakly ſuggeſted by others, "that the

" coercive Power of human Laws is ſuffi-
" cient to ſuſtain itſelf: That the Legiſlator
" or Magiſtrate hath properly no Concern
" with the private Opinions, Sentiments,
" or Operations of the Mind: And that
" *Actions* alone fall under the legal Cogni-
" zance of thoſe in Power."

The Author of the *Fable of the Bees* hath boldly laid down this; which, as a ruling Principle, pervades his whole Work. He profeſſes himſelf the Friend of Liberty: He derides private Virtue, as the Offspring of Flattery, begotten upon Pride: He diſcards Religion, as a political Fable; he treats the Principle of Honour, as an empty Chimera; he recommends private Vices as public Benefits*; and having thus level'd the whole Fabric of *Manners* and *Principles*; what, do you think, is the grand Arcanum of his Policy, for the Prevention of ſuch Crimes as would indanger the Grandeur and Stability of the State? Why;—" ſe-

* *Fable of the Bees*, paſſim.

" vere

" vere Laws, rugged Officers, Pillories,
" Whipping-Posts, Jails, and Gibbets*."

This Principle, of the Sufficiency of human Laws to sustain their own Efficacy and Power, without Regard to the Opinions or Principles of Men, hath been, at least, indirectly held forth by other Writers,

An Author, who although a *sincere*, was certainly an *imprudent*, Friend of Liberty, speaks in the following ambiguous Stile; which, if not designed to impress the Principle here called in Question, is at least very liable to be interpreted into it. " It is foolish to say, that Govern-
" ment is concerned to meddle with the
" *private Thoughts* and Actions of Men,
" while they injure neither the Society, nor
" any of its Members. Every Man is, in
" Nature and Reason, the *Judge* and *Dis-*
" *poser* of his own *domestic Affairs*; and,
" according to the *Rules* of *Religion* and

* Essay on Charity Schools.

" *Equity*,

" *Equity*, every Man muſt carry *his own*
" *Conſcience*: So that neither has the Magi-
" ſtrate a Right to *direct* the *private Be-*
" *haviour* of Men; nor has the Magiſtrate,
" or any Body elſe, any Manner of Power
" to *model* People's *Speculations*, no more
" than their *Dreams*. Government being
" intended to *protect* Men from the *Injuries*
" of one another, and not to direct them
" in *their own Affairs*, in which *no one*
" *is intereſted but themſelves*; it is plain,
" that their *Thoughts* and *domeſtic Concerns*
" are *exempted* entirely from its Juriſdic-
" tion: In Truth, Men's *Thoughts* are
" not ſubject to *their own Juriſdiction*."
—" *Let People alone*, and they will *take*
" *Care of themſelves*, and do it *beſt*: And
" if they do not, a ſufficient *Puniſhment*
" will *follow* their *Neglect*, without the
" *Magiſtrate's Interpoſition* and *Penalties*.
" It is plain, that ſuch buſy Care and offi-
" cious *Intruſion* into the *perſonal Affairs*,
" or *private Actions*, *Thoughts*, and *Imagi-*
" *nations* of Men, has in it more *Craft* than

" *Kind-*

" *Kindneſs*:—To *quarrel* with any Man for " his *Opinions*, *Humours*, or the faſhion of " his Cloaths, is an *Offence* taken without " being given."—" True and impartial Li- " berty is therefore the Right of every " Man, to purſue the *natural*, *reaſonable*, " and *religious* Dictates of his own Mind: " To *think what he will*, and *act as he* " *thinks*, provided he *acts not* to the *Pre-* " *judice* of another*."

Theſe Expreſſions are crude, inaccurate, and ambiguous; leaving the thoughtful Reader at a Loſs for the Author's preciſe and determined Meaning. For, firſt, they may poſſibly imply, " that the Magiſtrate " hath no Right to violate the Laws of " what is commonly called *Religious Tole-* " *ration* or *Chriſtian Liberty*; but that every " Man hath an unalienable Right to wor- " ſhip God in that *Manner* which accords " to the Dictates of his own Conſcience." In this Senſe they are rational and true:

* *Cato's* Letters, N°. 62.

And

And to this Truth the Writer hath more than once born public Teſtimony *.

But, ſecondly, they may imply, " that " Thoughts, Speculations, Opinions, Prin- " ciples, however received and imbibed by " the Mind of Man, have no Connexion " with his Actions; at moſt, no Con- " nexion ſo neceſſary and ſtrong as to give " the Magiſtrate a Right to *regulate* them " by *any Means* whatever. That no Di- " rection is to be given either to the " *grown* or the *infant Mind*; that, as every " Member of Society hath a Right to hold " what Opinions and Principles he plea- " ſeth, ſo he hath the ſame Privilege to " communicate them to his *Family* and " *Children*: That they are to think what " they will, becauſe Thoughts and Opi- " nions are a private and perſonal Affair: " That the Magiſtrate is only concerned " to regulate their Actions."

* See Vol. of Serm. IV, V, XII.

This

This is not only a poſſible Interpretation, but, in all Appearance, the more natural of the two. For it is not here once ſuggeſted by this Author, that *Opinions* have any *Influence* on *Actions*; but rather, that they concern *nobody* but *Him* who *holds* them. 'Tis true, he ſpeaks of them as being *reaſonable*, and *religious*: But if they be the mere Reſult of private and fortuitous Thought, unaided by the Regulations of civil Policy, I ſee not why they may not more probably be *unreaſonable* and *irreligious*: Becauſe they are more likely to be model'd by *ruling Appetites* than *rational Deduction*.

At the ſame time, it is but Juſtice to this Author to ſay, that he certainly meant not (like the Author of the *Fable of the Bees*) to diſcard all *moral* Principles as groundleſs and chimerical; whatever his Intentions were with Regard to *Religion*. But his Expreſſions are *ambiguous*, and have been laid hold of by Men of the moſt libertine Opinions: Therefore in

whatever Senſe they were *written*, it is neceſſary to oppoſe them, in that Senſe in which they have been *received*.

And farther, this is certain: That the Principle implied in this ſecond Interpretation hath paſſed into a general Maxim in this Kingdom, among thoſe who pique themſelves on *unlimited Freedom* of *Thought*. Theſe Men have long and openly derided every *Regulation* of *Opinion* and *Principle*; have diſcarded all *moral* and *religious Inſtruction*, under the deſpiſed Idea of *Prejudice of Education*; have laid it down as their fundamental Maxim, "That you are "to think what you will: Only to act ho-"neſtly." Not attending to that eſſential Connexion which ſubſiſts between *Thoughts*, *Opinions*, *Principles*, and ACTIONS.

Doubtleſs, any Society of Men, aiming at the Eſtabliſhment of civil Liberty, have a Right to unite themſelves on what Conditions they pleaſe. But it is the Purpoſe of this Eſſay, to prove, by Reaſonings confirmed by Facts, that a free Community

nity built on the Maxims above delivered, cannot be of *long Duration*: That the mere *coercive Power* of *human Laws* is not ſufficient to *ſuſtain itſelf*: That there is a ſtrong and unalterable *Counexion* between *Opinions* and *Actions*: That a certain *Regulation* of Principles is neceſſary; to check the ſelfiſh Paſſions of Man, and prevent *Liberty* from degenerating into *Licentiouſneſs*: And that "a certain Syſtem of "Manners and Principles, mutually ſup"porting each other, and pervading the "whole Community, are the only perma"nent Foundation on which true civil Li"berty can ariſe."

The natural Appetites, Paſſions, and Deſires of Man, are the univerſal Fountain of his Actions: Without the Impulſe which he receives from *thoſe*, he would be at once unfeeling and inactive. Conſequently, according to the State and Character of his Deſires, his Actions will *naturally* be good or evil; innocent, uſeful, or deſtructive.

Were

Were theſe Deſires univerſally coincident with the Welfare and Happineſs of others, no coercive Power would be wanting, as the Means of producing and ſecuring perfect Liberty.

But the acknowledged Neceſſity of penal Laws affords an inconteſtable Proof, that the *unbridled Deſires* of Man are utterly inconſiſtent with the Welfare and Happineſs of his Fellow Creatures.

Whatever Means, therefore, are moſt effectual in curbing and *ſubduing* the ſelfiſh *Deſires* of Man, are the moſt effectual Means of *regulating* his *Actions*, and eſtabliſhing civil Liberty on its moſt permanent Foundations.

The mere coercive Power of human Laws, without an aſſiſtant Regulation of the Paſſions and Deſires, is utterly inadequate to the great Ends either of *private* Happineſs or *public* Liberty.

It cannot produce *private* Happineſs to the Individual, becauſe while it leaves his Mind open to be *infeſted* by every *unruly Paſſion*

Paſſion that may ariſe, it *forbids* him the *Gratification:* Thus it ſets the diſtracted Soul at Variance with itſelf. The beſt Conſequence that can be hoped for, is a continued Conflict of *Fear* and *Appetite*; of a *Dread* of human *Laws*, warring with inordinate and *ſelfiſh Paſſions*.

It cannot be a *permanent* Foundation of public Liberty; becauſe while the Paſſions are thus left without an inward Controul, they will often be too ſtrong for *Fear*, even where a legal Puniſhment is the certain Conſequence: For as they are ſuffered to ſubſiſt in their full Vigour, and, when kindled in the Soul, are blind and headſtrong, they will often carry away the whole Man; will bear him down in their Gratification, even to unavoidable Deſtruction.

Still farther, and chiefly: Human Power cannot penetrate the ſecret Receſſes of the Soul, nor reach the dark Intentions of the Heart of Man, nor always be of Weight to combat the Strength of Indi-

viduals: Hence *Cunning* will often *evade*, and *Force* will often *defy*, the coercive Power of the beſt-formed Laws. Thus *public Wiſdom* muſt give Way to *private Gratification*, the *Innocent* muſt become a *Prey* to the *Guilty*; that is, in other Words, *Liberty* muſt be *deſtroyed*, and *Licentiouſneſs* muſt *triumph*.

SECT. V.

Virtuous Manners and Principles the only permanent Foundation of civil Liberty.

WHAT, then, are the *permanent Foundations*, on which perfect Liberty can ariſe?—I anſwer, it can only ariſe on the Power of ſuch a Syſtem of *Manners* and *Principles* effectually impreſſed on the human Mind, as may be an *inward Curb* to every inordinate Deſire; or rather, ſuch as may ſo frame and model the human Heart, that its ruling Deſires may

may correſpond, coincide, or coaleſce, with all the great and eſſential Appointments of public Law.

The Nature of Man admits of this Improvement, though not in a perfect, yet in a conſiderable Degree. He is born with Appetites ſuited to his own Preſervation, and the Continuance of his Species: Beyond this, he is by Nature at once *ſelfiſh* and *ſocial*; *compaſſionate* and *reſentful*; *docile*, either to *Good* or *Evil*; and hence, capable of acquiring *new Habits*, new Paſſions, new Deſires, either to the *Welfare* or *Deſtruction* of his Fellow-Creatures.

Virtuous Manners I call ſuch acquired Habits of Thought and correſpondent Action, as lead to a ſteady Proſecution of the general Welfare.

Virtuous Principles I call ſuch as tend to confirm theſe Habits, by ſuperinducing the Idea of *Duty*.

Virtuous Manners are a permanent Foundation for civil Liberty, becauſe they

lead the Paſſions and Deſires themſelves to coincide with the Appointments of public Law. The infant Mind is pregnant with a Variety of Paſſions: But it is in the Power of thoſe who are intruſted with the Education of Youth, in a conſiderable Degree, to determine the Bent of the naſcent Paſſions; to fix them on ſalutary Objects, or let them looſe to ſuch as are pernicious or deſtructive.

Here, then, lie the firſt Foundations of civil Liberty: In forming the Habits of the youthful Heart, to a *Coincidence* with the *general Welfare:* In checking every riſing Appetite that is contrary to This, and in forwarding every Paſſion that may promote the Happineſs of the Community: In implanting and improving Benevolence, Self-Controul, Humility, Integrity, and Truth; in preventing or ſuppreſſing the contrary Habits of Selfiſhneſs, Intemperance, Pride, Diſhoneſty, and Falſehood: In teaching the young Mind to *delight*, as far as is poſſible, in every Virtue

Virtue for its own Sake: In a Word, in ſo forming the Pleaſures and Diſpleaſures of the opening Heart, that they may coaleſce and harmonize with the Laws of public Freedom.

Above all, *This* will give Stability to civil Liberty, if the ſocial Paſſions of Individuals can be ſo far extended, as to include the Welfare of the *whole* Community, as their *chief* and *primary* Object. This Affection is diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *public Spirit*, or the *Love* of our *Country*; the higheſt Paſſion that can ſway the human Heart, conſidered as a permanent Foundation of true Liberty.

But in ſome Minds the ſelfiſh Paſſions are ſtrong, and the ſocial ones weak or wanting: And in the beſt formed Heart incidental Temptations may ariſe, and overturn its pre-eſtabliſhed Habits: Therefore it is a neceſſary Meaſure for the Security of private Virtue and public Freedom, that *virtuous Principles* be likewiſe implanted in the Heart. Such Principles,

I mean, as may *ſtrengthen* the good Habits of Thought and Action already contracted, by ſuperinducing the Idea of *Duty*.

Of theſe there are but *three*, which can ſway the Manners of Men, and confirm the Foundation of civil Liberty. Theſe are *Religion*, *Honour*, and natural *Conſcience*. The firſt has the *Deity* for its Object; the ſecond, the *Applauſe* of *Men*; the third, the *Approbation* of our own *Heart*. The Frame and Situation of Man admits of no other *Principle*, from whence the Idea of *Duty* can ariſe.

The Principle of *Religion* tends to this End of confirming civil Liberty, as it induces the Idea of *Duty*; and urges the Performance of it, on the Belief of a juſt, omnipotent, and all-ſeeing GOD; who approves and condemns, will reward or puniſh, according as our Thoughts and Actions are Good or Evil.

But, as the Means of rendering *Religion*, a firm *Ally* and *Support* of *Liberty*, it

it is neceſſary that their *Dictates* ſhould be *coincident:* That is, that the Thoughts and Actions which Religion preſcribes as Duties, and forbids as Sins, ſhould coincide with the Dictates and Appointments of public Law. In free Countries, this is the natural State of Religion; which commonly either bends to the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Community, or moulds them into its own Genius and Complexion.

The Principle of *Honour* affords a concomitant Support of civil Liberty, when properly directed. It works by a powerful and univerſal Paſſion, "our Fondneſs "for the Applauſe of Men:" But in free Countries, this Principle is much more liable to abuſe than that of Religion: Becauſe it is apt to be warped by the faſhionable and ruling Manners of the Times: For whatever is faſhionable is apt to draw Reſpect and Applauſe: Whatever is unfaſhionable is for the preſent intitled only to Contempt. Hence the Principle of *Honour* becomes *fluctuating* and *uncer-*

tain

tain in its Nature, and therefore in its *Effects:* A *Regulation* of this Principle, therefore, is of the moſt important Conſequence; becauſe, if left to its own fantaſtic Dictates, it will often *endanger* inſtead of *ſtrengthening* the Foundations of public Freedom.

The third Principle, that of natural *Conſcience*, which tends to confirm the Eſtabliſhment of Liberty, is founded in the Approbation of our own Heart. This Principle is in one Reſpect independent on the other two, but in another Reſpect ſeems to ſtand intimately related to them. It is independent of them, as it neither looks out for the Approbation of GOD, not the Applauſe of Men: It ſeems intimately related to them, becauſe, on a ſtrict Examination of the human Frame, as well as the Hiſtory of Mankind, it appears generally to be the Reſult of the *one*, or *other*, or *both*. We tranſplant the acknowledged *Approbation* of *Heaven* and the *Applauſe* of *Men* into our own *Heart*; and

and from this, through the fertile Power of *Aſſociation*, ſprings a new Principle of *Self-Approbation* and *Self-Reproof*, as an additional *Regulator* of our Thoughts and Actions.

'Tis true, many Writers have reſolved the *particular* Dictates of natural Conſcience into an *unchangeable* Principle of Right and Wrong, ariſing univerſally in the human Heart. There is no Doubt, but the *general* Principle of Self-Approbation or Self-Rebuke ariſeth in an *univerſal* Manner, in ſome Degree or other: but as it appears from the Hiſtory of human Nature, that the *particular* Dictates of this Conſcience *vary* with the other received Principles of the Mind, it is not neceſſary to debate or dwell on this ſpeculative Point: We may take it as a Truth confirmed by Facts, that the *particular* Dictates of natural *Conſcience* will generally be founded on thoſe of *Religion* and *Honour*.

Hence,

Hence, then, it appears, that this Principle of Conſcience ſtands in Need of a *Guide*, in the ſame Degree as thoſe Principles on which it is founded. If it be founded on the *Religion* of a free State, it will generally *coincide* with the Principles of *Freedom*: If its Foundations are laid in the mere Principle of *Honour*, its Dictates will be *fantaſtic* as thoſe of its Parent; and will therefore require a parallel *Regulation*.

Each of theſe Principles, ſingly taken, is of Power, in *ſome* Degree or other, to ſtrengthen the Baſis of civil Liberty. On their *united* Influence, added to the Force of pre-eſtabliſhed Habits of Thought and Manners, public Freedom might ſeem to ariſe on immoveable and everlaſting Foundations.

But as the Nature of Man, even in his moſt virtuous State, is *imperfect* and *inconſiſtent*; ſo, in Spite of the moſt ſalutary Inſtitutions, ſome *Defects* will intrude. Hence, from an unavoidable Alloy of Vice,

Vice, civil Liberty muſt ever be *imperfect*: A certain Degree of Licentiouſneſs (that is, of private Will, oppoſing the Public) will always mix itſelf, and in ſome Degree contaminate the Purity of every Commonwealth.

Yet, while virtuous Manners and Principles clearly predominate in their Effects, a State may ſtill be juſtly called *free*.

But in Proportion as theſe Manners and Principles decay, and their Contraries riſe into Power and Action, public Freedom muſt neceſſarily decline. For in that Caſe, the Paſſions and Powers of the human Mind are all ſet in Conſpiracy againſt the Dictates of public Law. Hence unbridled Paſſions will have their Courſe; every Man's Heart and Hand will be ſet againſt his Brethren; and the general Cement of Society, which bound all together, being thus diſſolved; even without any external Violence offered, the Commonwealth through its *internal Corruption* muſt fall in Pieces.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

An Objection conſidered.

DOubtleſs, it will be objected (nay, it *hath* been objected) by the Patrons of unlimited Freedom of Thought, that This is indeed a Syſtem of *Slavery*; that it is building civil Liberty on the *Servitude* of the *Mind*, and ſhackling the infant Soul with *early Prejudice*.

In Anſwer to this plauſible Objection, the Writer replies (what he hath elſewhere advanced *) "That a Prejudice doth "not imply, as is generally ſuppoſed, the "Falſehood of the Opinion inſtilled, but "only that it is taken up, and held, "without its proper Evidence. Thus the "infant Mind may be prejudiced in Fa-"vour of *Truth* as well as *Falſehood*; and "neither can the one or the other, thus "inſtilled, be properly called more than "an *Opinion*."

* Sermons on Education, &c. p. 62, &c.

Farther:

Farther: The infant Mind cannot remain in a State of Indifference and Inaction, either with regard to Habits of Conduct, or Principles and Opinions. Habits, Impreſſions, Beliefs, Principles, of one Kind or other, the growing Mind will inevitably contract, from its Communication with Mankind: If therefore rational Habits and Principles be not infuſed, in order to preclude Abſurdities; it is Odds, but Abſurdities will get the Start, and preclude all rational Habits and Opinions. The Paſſions and the Reaſon of a Child will put themſelves in Action, however wretched and inconſiſtent; in the ſame Manner, as his Limbs will make an Effort towards *walking*, however awkward and abſurd. The ſame Objection, therefore, that lies againſt inſtilling ſalutary Habits and Principles, will ariſe againſt teaching him to *walk erect*: This being indeed a Violation of the natural *Freedom* of the *Body*, as the other is of the natural *Liberty* of the Paſſions and

the *Mind*. The Conſequences, too, are of the ſame Nature: For ſure, a Child left to the Direction of his own Appetites and Reaſon would ſtand the ſame Chance to grovel in Abſurdities, as to crawl on Hands and Knees, and wallow in the Mire.

Neither is there any Difference, with Reſpect to the real and internal Freedom of the Mind, between *Opinions inſtilled*, and *Opinions caught by Accident*. For in Truth, the Mind cannot be *compelled* to receive any Habit of Thought, Principle, or Opinion. Theſe may indeed be offered to the infant Mind, but the Reception of them is its own voluntary Act; and is equally ſo, whether they be preſented by fortuitous Incidents, or deſigned Inſtruction. All the Difference is, that in the firſt Caſe ſuch a Syſtem of Habits and Opinions will certainly ariſe, as tend to the Deſtruction of Society: In the ſecond, ſuch a Syſtem of Habits and Opinions may be infuſed into the free Mind, as will

will lay a ſure and laſting Foundation of public Liberty and Happineſs.

Nay, if any Difference could ariſe, with Reſpect to the true *Freedom* of the *Mind*; ſurely, *That Mind* ought, in the Eye of Reaſon, to be adjudged *moſt free*, which adopts a Syſtem of Thought and Action, founded on the *Wiſdom* of the agreeing *Society*; rather than *That* which is ſuffered to be incurably tainted with the *vague* and *random* Conceptions of *untutor'd Infancy*.—This, at leaſt, is conſonant with the old Stoic Principle, that "The wiſe Man alone is free *."

Much hath been ſaid in our Times, indeed, concerning the Force of *unaſſiſted* human *Reaſon:* The Writer would not willingly either flatter or degrade its Powers. But to Him it appears, that they are ſuperficially informed of the Frame and Tenor of the human Mind, who think that *mere Reaſon* (as it exiſts in Man) is more than a Power of diſ-

* Solus Sapiens liber.

cerning

cerning and chuſing the *propereſt Means* for obtaining his *deſired Ends*, whether theſe Ends be *Good* or *Evil*. The Paſſions, pre-eſtabliſhed Habits, and infuſed Principles of the Soul are the univerſal Motives to human Action. Where theſe point not to an *End deſired*, Reaſon may indolently exerciſe its Eye; but can never find nor create an Object, of Force ſufficient to put the Powers of the Soul and Body in Motion. Hence, human Reaſon muſt always receive its particular Caſt and Colour from the pre-eſtabliſhed Paſſions, Habits, and Principles: will ever form its ruling Ideas of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, Juſt and Unjuſt, from theſe great Fountains of human Action.

The Hiſtory of human Nature confirms this Truth: Hence it is, that this boaſted human Reaſon is indeed ſo poor and unprofitable a Poſſeſſion; being warped and moulded into that particular Form, which the varying Accidents of Climate, Soil, eſtabliſhed Manners, Religion, Policy,

Policy, bodily Frame, or prevailing Paſſions and Principles, chance to give it.

Hence, then, it appears, that the private Freedom of the infant Mind is not *violated*, but only *directed* to its *beſt End*, by early and ſalutary Inſtruction. Hence it appears to be the proper Deſtination of Man, that he ſhall not be left to the Follies of his own weak Underſtanding and naſcent Paſſions; that he ſhall not be left *fortuitouſly* to imbibe the Maxims of corrupt Times and Manners; Maxims which, ſetting aſide all Regard to their ſpeculative Truth or Falſehood, do lead to the Diſſolution of Law and Freedom: But that he ſhall be conducted voluntarily to adopt thoſe Habits and Principles, which have been conſecrated by the Approbation of the beſt and wiſeſt Men, in every Age and Nation; ſuch, in particular, as are ſuitable to the Laws, the Cuſtoms, the Genius, of his own free Country; ſuch, in a Word, as are a *ſecure Foundation* of *public Liberty*.

SECT. VII.

A Confirmation of theſe Principles, drawn from the Hiſtory of free States.

1*ſt. Of Sparta.*

THESE Reaſonings, founded on the Nature and Conſtitution of Man, will receive a ſtrong and unanſwerable Confirmation from the Hiſtory of free States. Hence we ſhall obtain the cleareſt Evidences of Fact, that while virtuous Manners and Principles retained their Efficacy and Power, civil Liberty remained unſhaken: That as theſe decayed, Liberty declined: That as ſoon as theſe were loſt, Liberty was no more; Licentiouſneſs crept in; Faction triumphed; and overwhelmed theſe degenerate States in one common Ruin.

To this Purpoſe I ſhall briefly analyze the Genius of the three moſt eminent *Re-*

Republics that are recorded in Story: Thoſe of SPARTA, ATHENS, and ROME. The Events are ſufficiently known to thoſe who are converſant in ancient Hiſtory: But the fundamental and leading *Cauſes* of theſe Events deſerve a particular Inveſtigation: They will form a concurrent Proof of the Principles here given.

The Republic of SPARTA claims the firſt Place; both on Account of its Antiquity, and Perfection. By its Perfection is meant, not the moral Perfection of its *particular Inſtitutions*, but of the *Means* and *Principles* by which *Theſe* Inſtitutions were ſecured.

The leading Inſtitutions which LYCURGUS fixed as the Eſſence of his Commonwealth, were theſe which follow.

1. He eſtabliſhed a Senate of *twenty-eight*, as an *intermediate Power* between that of *Prince* and *People*... 2. He made an equal Partition of Lands and Goods, among the free Members of the Community... 3. He introduced the Uſe of Iron Money, inſtead of Gold and Silver... 4. He baniſhed or

prevented all the Arts of Commerce, Elegance, and Luxury... 5. He ordained, that all the Members of the Society ſhould eat together, and partake alike of the ſame coarſe Fare... 6. He eſtabliſhed an occaſional Community of Wives: So that a Wife was not ſo much the Property of her Huſband, as of the Republic, to the End of Population... 7. With a parallel View, he ordained a Kind of Community of Children: By This, no Father had the Care of his own Child; which, on its Birth, was immediately delivered over to the Officers of the State; and was either preſerved or deſtroyed according to their Decree... 8. A continued Attention to the Preſervation of the State, and an unremitted Preparation and Readineſs for defenſive War, formed the chief Employment of the *Spartan* State. ... 9. He committed the Cultivation of their Lands to a large Body of Slaves, who dwelt in the ſurrounding Country, were deprived of all the natural Rights

of

of Men, and were often laid in Wait for, and butchered in cold Blood, by the young Men of SPARTA*.

Theſe were the public and eſſential Inſtitutions of the Spartan Republic: Many of them ſtrange in their Nature; yet formed for long Duration, through the Means and Principles on which they were eſtabliſhed; which we ſhall find to be conſiſtent with, and corroborative of, the Principles of civil Liberty above laid down.

The firſt and beſt Security of civil Liberty hath been ſhewn to conſiſt "in "impreſſing the infant Mind with ſuch "Habits of Thought and Action, as may "correſpond with and promote the Ap-"pointments of public Law."—This Security was laid by LYCURGUS, in the

* This Enormity, practiſed with Impunity by the young Men of Sparta, hath been held unaccountable: But ſeems to have been allowed on the ſame warlike Principle with That other Allowance "of ſtealing Victuals." Both were probably eſtabliſhed as the Means of preparing them for the Exerciſe of *Stratagem* in War.

deepeſt and moſt effectual Manner, by the Mode of *Education* which he preſcribed to the *Spartan* Youth.

No Father had a Right to educate his Children according to the Caprice of his own Fancy. They were delivered to public Officers, who initiated them early in the Manners, the Maxims, the Exerciſes, the Toils, in a Word, in all the mental and bodily Acquirements and Habits, which *correſponded* with the *Genius* of the *State*. Family Connexions had no Place: The firſt and leading Object of their Affection, was the general Welfare. This Tuition was carefully continued, till they were enrolled in the Liſt of *Men*: To ſecure the Manners thus acquired, they were prohibited from travelling into other Countries, leſt they ſhould catch Infection from ill Example: On the ſame Foundation, all Viſits from Strangers were forbidden*. Thus were they ſtrongly and

* Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

unal-

unalterably poſſeſſed with the *Love* of their *Country*.

Theſe ſevere Manners were confirmed by all the Principles that could ſtrengthen them in the Mind of Man.

The Principle of *Religion* laid at the very Foundation of the State: For LYCURGUS expreſsly modeled his Common-wealth on the Pretence of a divine Authority. He declared to the People, that its eſſential Inſtitutions were given him by the Oracle of DELPHI, which he went on Purpoſe to conſult*. Again, after he had modeled his Republic, he repaired once more to the ſacred Tripod; and enquired, "whether the God approved of the Laws "he had eſtabliſhed." The Anſwer was in the Affirmative: And this Reply LYCURGUS ſent to SPARTA†.

This Principle was ſo intimately blended with that of the State, that their *Kings* were at the ſame Time the *High Prieſts* of the Community‡.—The Reli-

* Plutarch. in Lycurgo. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

gion and Power of an Oath was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on their Minds, that LYCURGUS truſted the future Execution of his Laws, to *That* Oath which the People took, on his laſt Departure from the City *:—An Oath, which proves, that the Religion of the Country was not at Variance with the Appointments of the State; becauſe it obliged them never to depart from the Inſtitutions of LYCURGUS.

The Principle of *Honour* was not at Variance, but *co-operated* with and *ſuſtained* That of *Religion*. PLUTARCH is very particular, on their early and continued Encouragement of this Principle. Their Songs (which made a Part of their Education) tended to inflame their Minds with honeſt Ambition. "Their Subject "was generally the *Praiſe* of ſuch Men "as had dy'd in Defence of their Coun-"try; or in *Deriſion* of Thoſe who had "ſhrunk from the public Service. The "*old* Men talked high of what they had

* Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

"done:

" done: The *younger* Part echo'd back " their Song; declaring their Reſolution, " not to diſgrace the Valour of their Fore- " fathers *."

The Principle of natural *Conſcience* was ſo intimately interwoven with thoſe of their *Religion* and *Honour*, that it affords a ſtriking Proof how far natural Conſcience depends on theſe other Principles. If natural Conſcience were in itſelf a well-regulated and *ſufficient Guide*; could any Thing have been more odious to its Dictates, than *Proſtitution*, *Adultery*, *Thieving*, and *Aſſaſſination*? Yet all theſe did the ſevere *Spartans* practiſe, not only *without Remorſe*, but with *Self-Approbation*; the infant Mind being before-hand modeled to this *prepoſterous* Syſtem of *imagined Duty*. For, on the very ruling Principles of the State, their Daughters were debauched, their Wives were common, their Victuals were ſtolen, their Slaves were murdered †.

* Plutarch. in Lycurgo. † Ibid.

Thus

Thus was the famed Republic of *Sparta* ſtrongly fortify'd, by the united and concurrent Power of *Manners* and *Principles*, all pointing to the *ſame* End, the *Strength* and *Duration* of the *State:* Of Manners and Principles, which, in their particular Application, ſeemed to ſacrifice the Happineſs of Individuals to the Preſervation of the Whole: And while they were moſt *abhorrent* from the Maxims of *improved* human Nature, *ſecured* the Inſtitutions of a *ſavage* Policy.

From this View of the *Spartan* Commonwealth, theſe farther Remarks may naturally ariſe.

1. It hath been Matter of Surprize to thoſe who have written on this famed Republic, "by what Means LYCURGUS "ſhould be able to perſwade the *Spar-* "*tans*, not only to change the Form of "their Government, but to quit their pri- "vate Poſſeſſions, their Manner of Life, "the Uſe of Money, the Advantages of "Commerce, the Property of their Wives,

" the Care of their Children; and adopt
" a contrary Syſtem, ſo abhorrent from
" the Deſires of civilized Man." And indeed, ſuppoſing the *Fact*, it ſhould ſeem a Paradox utterly unaccountable.—The true Solution ſeems of a quite different Nature.—PLUTARCH leads me to it.—
" There is ſo much Uncertainty (ſaith he)
" in the Accounts which Hiſtorians have
" left us of LYCURGUS, that ſcarce any
" Thing is aſſerted by one, which is not
" contradicted by others. Their Senti-
" ments are quite different as to the Fa-
" mily he came of, the Voyages he un-
" dertook, the Place and Manner of his
" Death: But moſt of all, when they ſpeak
" of the Laws he made, and the Com-
" mon-wealth he founded.—They cannot
" be brought to agree, as to the very *Age*
" when he lived.—TIMÆUS conjectures,
" that there were two of his Name, and in
" different Times; but that the one being
" more famous than the other, Men gave
" to Him the Glory of both their Ex-
" ploits."

" ploits *."—Hence it appears, that the true Hiſtory of this Lawgiver was loſt in the Darkneſs of fabulous and obſcure Ages: And that, as to the Beginnings of this Commonwealth, we have nothing to depend on, but the traditionary Rumours of a barbarous and lying Period. Now this ſeems to be fairly weighed down by the internal Evidence ariſing from the Nature of the Eſtabliſhment itſelf. For it was indeed " the Eſtabliſhment of bar-" barous Manners, carried into Perma-" nency by political Inſtitutions." That Mankind ſhould be *carry'd back* to *This*, from a State of *Humanity* and *Civilization*;—that they ſhould quit private Property, Money, Commerce, Decency, domeſtic Comforts, Wives and Children, and give them up to the Poſſeſſion of the Public, is a Contradiction to all the known Powers and Paſſions of the human Mind. To effect a *Change* of *Government only*, is a Work ſufficient for tne Abilities of

* Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

the

the greateſt Legiſlator: But to overturn all the pre-eſtabliſhed Habits of the Head and Heart, to deſtroy or reverſe all the fixed Aſſociations, Maxims, Manners, and Principles, of a whole civilized Community; were a Labour, which might well be ranked among the moſt extravagant Legends of fabulous GREECE.

On the other Hand, to *bring forward* a Tribe of untaught Savages *one Degree* towards *Civilization*, and *there* to *fix* them; —to aſſign equal Portions of Land to thoſe among whom Lands lay in Common;—to introduce Iron Money, where *no Money* had been in Uſe;—to prohibit Commerce, where Commerce was almoſt unknown; — to make the Girls dance naked in Public, where they had never known the decent Uſe of Cloaths;—to allow of Theft and Homicide under certain Limitations, where *Both* had been practiſed without Limitation;—to make Wives at Times a public Property, where promiſcuous Concubinage had prevailed;

to

to give Children a public Education, where no Education had taken Place;—Theſe might all ſeem the natural and practicable Efforts of a *Pagan* Legiſlator.

Thus, the Formation of the *Spartan* Republic ſeems clearly accounted for. A Tribe of untaught Savages were brought forward by LYCURGUS one Degree towards Civilization and Humanity, and There fixed by ſevere Inſtitutions.

The Fate of AGIS, their patriot King, confirms this Solution. He, with a Degree of public Virtue ſeldom ſeen in any Station, attempted to bring back the corrupt State to its firſt rigorous Inſtitutions. But that which LYCURGUS could eſtabliſh among untaught Savages, AGIS found impracticable, among a corrupted People. He was ſeized, impriſoned, and murdered by a Faction, in his Attempt to reſtore Freedom to a degenerate Republic.

2. If the Argument here alledged be juſt, concerning the firſt Inſtitution of this Re-

Republic; it follows (what, indeed, ſeems probable in its own Nature) that the ſtrongeſt political Inſtitutions may be formed on the ſavage State of Man. In this Period the Legiſlator hath few or no prior Inſtitutions to contend with; and therefore can form a Syſtem of Legiſlation conſiſtent with itſelf in all its Parts. While the Lawgiver who reforms a State already modeled and corrupted, muſt content himſelf with ſuch partial Regulations, as the Force of prior Eſtabliſhments and public Habits will admit.

3. The long united State of this Republic affords a Proof againſt a political Maxim commonly received, "That Divi-" ſions are neceſſary to a free State; and " that inward Tranquillity is a certain " Symptom of its approaching Ruin." For, from the Hiſtory of SPARTA, it appears, that during the Space of at leaſt five hundred Years, inteſtine Diviſions were unknown. This common and miſtaken Maxim (adopted by almoſt all political

tical Writers*) hath been founded on a Suppoſition, that where Opinion is *free*, it muſt ever be *divided*. The *Spartan* Commonwealth preſents a clear Proof of the Reverſe: That Opinion may be *free*, yet ſtill *united*. But this *free Union* can only be the happy Effect of an early and rigorous Education; by which the growing Minds of the Community are voluntarily led, by public Inſtitutions, into *one common Channel* of *Habit*, *Principle*, and *Action*... PLUTARCH tells us, that the Effect of this entire Union was ſo conſpicuous in SPARTA, that "the Common-"wealth reſembled *one* great and power-"ful Perſon, *actuated by one Soul*, rather "than a State compoſed of *many* Indivi-"duals†."

4. It appears, that the Inſtitutions of the *Spartan* Republic were admirably calculated for each other's Support, while

* Among others, by MACHIAVEL and MONTESQUIEU. † In Lycurgo.

their

their perfect Union was maintained: And further, that when an Inroad was made into any one of them, the Ruin of the Whole was inevitable.

" Its Inſtitutions were admirably cal-
" culated for each other's Support, while
" their perfect Union was maintained."
Becauſe they tended ſtrongly to prevent the *firſt Inroads* of *Temptation* to the *Mind*, the very *firſt Impulſes* of *ſelfiſh Paſſion*. The equal Partition of Lands and Goods took away all Hope of Superiority in Wealth: The Introduction of Iron Money rendered Wealth cumberſome and untractable: The Prohibition of Commerce prevented the Materials of Luxury: The Baniſhment of elegant Arts prevented the firſt Conception of them. Their public Meals, eaten in common, cut off the Hope, nay, prevented the Deſire, of all private Indulgence of the Palate, the Diſorders of Intemperance. To ſecure theſe rigid Inſtitutions, the public Education of their Children was ordained, leſt private Paſ-

ſion ſhould mix its Alloy, with the rigorous Appointments of the State. Thus the Republic was ſo round and compact in all its Parts, that it might ſeem to defy the Attacks of the moſt powerful Enemy.

" But ſuppoſing an Inroad made into " any one of its capital Inſtitutions, the " Ruin of the Whole was inevitable." For its ſeveral Parts receiving their Strength from each other, were therefore mutually *dependant*; and the Whole being an auſtere Contradiction to the natural Appetites of Man, the leaſt Inroad of Indulgence naturally led on to more forcible Temptations. Thus, *Inequality* of Poſſeſſions brought in *Wealth* and *Poverty*. *Wealth* brought in *Luxury*: *Poverty* gave Birth to *Envy* and *Avarice*. Licentiouſneſs and Faction thus crept in; and the Fall of SPARTA was *inevitable*.

Yet even amidſt the *Decays* of this Republic, the Force of a rigorous Education eſſentially mixed with the Principles of the

the State, was ſtill conſpicuous. The Power of Manners and Maxims thus imbibed was ſo untractable, even in the declining Periods of the *Spartan* Commonwealth, that PHILOPOEMEN, after many fruitleſs Attempts to annihilate its Influence, declared, "that the only effectual "Method of deſtroying SPARTA, muſt "be in *diſſolving* the *Education* of their "*Youth* *."

This Analyſis is clearly confirmed by PLUTARCH in the following Paſſages. "Since we may blame the Legiſlators of "common Rank, who, through Want of "Power or Wiſdom, commit Miſtakes in "the Formation of fundamental Laws; "how much more may we cenſure the "Conduct of NUMA, who, for the Repu-"tation of his Wiſdom only, being called "by the general Voice of an unſettled "People to be their King, did not in the "firſt Place conſtitute Laws for the Edu-"cation of Children, and Diſcipline of

* Plutarch. in Philopœm.

" Youth? For want of which, Men be-
" come ſeditious and turbulent, and live
" not peaceable in their Families and
" Tribes: But when they are inured from
" their Cradle to good Principles, and im-
" bibe from their Infancy the Rules of
" Morality, they receive ſuch Impreſſions
" of Virtue, as convinces them of that
" Advantage which mutual Concord brings
" to a Commonwealth. This, with many
" others, was one of the Policies of LY-
" CURGUS: And was of ſingular Force
" in the Confirmation and Eſtabliſhment
" of his Laws:"—" Hence the *Spartans*,
" having ſucked in theſe Principles with
" their Milk, were poſſeſſed with a moſt
" reverend Eſteem of all his Inſtitutions:
" So that the Fundamentals of his Laws
" continued in Force for above five hun-
" dred Years, without any Violation *."

Such then was the Force of concurrent Manners and Principles, all centering in one Point, impreſſed on the infant Mind,

* Compariſon of NUMA and LYCURGUS.

and

and continued by a Variety of rigorous Inſtitutions.—Thus, the Strength of the *Spartan* Republic, like the firm-compacted Weight of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, bore down every oppoſing Power.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Republic of Athens.

WE have ſeen the Force of Manners and Principles in the ſtrong Formation, the *Unanimity*, and *Continuance* of the *Spartan* State. We ſhall now ſee the Effects of the *Want* of Manners and Principles, in the weak Eſtabliſhment, the unceaſing *Factions*, and early *Diſſolution*, of the Commonwealth of ATHENS.

It appears above, that LYCURGUS, probably forming his People in the firſt and earlieſt Period of Civilization, was thus enabled to eſtabliſh a perfect Republic. SOLON, on the contrary, having a *cor-*

rupted People to *reform*, could only inſtitute ſuch a kind of Government, as their *pre-eſtabliſhed* Habits, Vices, and Forms of Polity could admit.

Here we diſcover the Foundation of that ſtriking Remark of SOLON himſelf: "That "he gave not the *Athenians* the *beſt* Laws "that could be *given*, but the *beſt* they "were *capable* of *receiving* *."

The firſt and ruling Defect in the Inſtitution of this Republic ſeems to have been "the total Want of an eſtabliſhed "Education, ſuited to the Genius of the "State." There appears not to have been any public, regular, or preſcribed Appointment of this Kind, beyond what Cuſtom had accidentally introduced. 'Tis true, that the Parents often had Maſters to inſtruct their Children in the *gymnaſtic* Arts, and in *Muſic*. Which laſt, in the ancient Acceptation of the Word, included *Poem* as well as *Melody*: 'Tis farther true, that the Poems thus taught

* Plut. in Solon.

their

their Children, included often the great Actions, but withal, the Vices of Gods and ancient Heroes *. Yet in this firſt and ruling Circumſtance, in the Inſtitution of a free State, the Parents were much at Liberty, to do as ſeemed good to them. Hence, a diſſimilar and diſcordant Syſtem of Manners and Principles took Place; while ſome youthful Minds were imbued with proper and *virtuous* Principles, ſome with *no* Principles, and ſome with *vicious* Principles; with ſuch as muſt, therefore, on the Whole tend to ſhake the Foundation of true Freedom.

The ſecond ruling Defect in the Conſtitution of this Republic, was the Eſtabliſhment of an unmixed and abſolute Democracy. This naturally aroſe from the *licentious* State of *Manners* and *Principles*, which SOLON found already prevalent among the *People*. A *virtuous* People would have been content to have

* See Diſſertation on Muſic and Poetry, Sect. v.

ſhared the legiſlative Power with the higher Ranks of the Commonwealth. But a *licentious* People naturally graſped the Whole, as the likelieſt Means (in their deluded Eye) of gratifying their own unbridled Paſſions. From this partial Diſtribution of Power, the State was blindly ruled by the Dregs of the Community. For *All* who were of Ability to maintain a *Horſe*, were admitted to the Rank of *Magiſtracy* *. And all who were *admitted* to the Rank of *Magiſtracy* were *excluded* from any Share in the *legiſlative Power* †. Hence it followed, that "All they who "poſſeſſed the *Legiſlative Power*, were "ſuch as were *not* of *Ability* to *maintain* "a *Horſe*."—"Do not you deſpiſe (ſaid "SOCRATES to his Pupil ALCIBIADES, "who was afraid to ſpeak in Preſence of "the *Athenian* People) do not you deſpiſe "That *Cobler?* I do, reply'd the Youth. "Do not you (rejoyned the Philoſopher) "equally contemn that *Cryer*, and yon

* Plut. in Solon. † Ib.

"*Tent-*

" *Tent-Maker?* ALCIBIADES confeſſing " that he did; then ſaid SOCRATES, " Is " not the Body of the *Athenian People* " compoſed of Men *like theſe?* And there- " fore, when you *deſpiſe* the *Individuals*, " why ſhould you fear the *Whole*?*"—A hopeful Tribe of *Legiſlators!* and ſuch as might naturally be ſuppoſed to give Riſe to that Licentiouſneſs, Diſcord, and Ruin, in which they were ſoon ſwallowed up!

From this weak and imperfect Eſtabliſhment, founded on the Caprices of an ignorant, unprincipled, and *licentious Populace*, all the ſubſequent *Factions*, which ended in the *Ruin* of this *Republic*, are clearly derived.

Even SOLON, the original Legiſlator, outlived the Commonwealth he had formed. On his Departure from ATHENS, *Factions* immediately aroſe. PISISTRATUS, the firſt ruling Demagogue, *led* the *People*; obtained a Guard; ſeized the Caſtle; and *eſtabliſhed* a *Tyranny* †.

* Æliani Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. i. † Plut. in Solon.

We need go no farther into the Hiſtory of this Republic, for a Diſcovery of the Cauſes of its final Ruin. It is true, that an imperfect Semblance of Liberty often appeared, amidſt the Factions of ſucceeding Times: It is true, that Wealth and Luxury contributed to haſten the Fall of ATHENS: It is true, that PERICLES and ALCIBIADES, in their Turn, while they ſeemed to poliſh the Manners, inflamed the Vices of the Populace; and led them on to the certain Deſtruction of the State. But for the Ruin of this Commonwealth, we need not have Recourſe to the Inroads of Wealth or Luxury, as the Cauſes of its Diſſolution. It reſembled a beautiful *Edifice* founded in *Sand* and *Rubbiſh:* Where an *uneducated*, an *unprincipled*, a *licentious Populace*, ruled the State; That State was deſtined to the convulſive Struggles of *Faction* while it lived, and then to a *ſpeedy Death.*

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of the Commonwealth of Rome.

LET us now paſs to a Review of the Commonwealth of ROME: In the Hiſtory and Fate of which, we ſhall find moſt abundant Proof of the Truths here laid down, concerning the Power of Manners and Principles, in the Preſervation or the Diſſolution of publick Freedom.

MONTESQUIEU remarks finely, in his Diſcourſe on this Republic, that "more "States have periſhed, thro' a Violation "of Manners, than thro' a Violation of "Laws *." The Reaſon (though he does not aſſign it) appears evident on the Principles here given. He who violates eſtabliſhed *Manners*, ſtrikes at the general *Foundation*; he who violates *Law*, ſtrikes only at a particular Part of the *Superſtructure* of the State.

* Grandeur, &c.

In

In the Republic of SPARTA, we have ſeen the original State of Manners and Principles conſpiring ſtrongly to the *Preſervation* of the Republic: In that of ATHENS, we have ſeen the original State of Manners and Principles tending no leſs clearly to its *Diſſolution*.

In analyſing the original State of Manners and Principles in the *Roman* Commonwealth, we ſhall find a different and *intermediate* State of Things; mixing the *Strength* of the *Spartan*, with the *Weakneſs* of the *Athenian* Inſtitutions; tending firſt to *enlarge* and *aggrandize* the Republic, and in the End to *corrupt* and *deſtroy* it.

The Manners and Principles of early ROME, which tended to enlarge and aggrandize the Republic, were 1. A *Love* of their *Country* inſtilled into their riſing Youth: Formed chiefly on the Power of *Cuſtom* and more particularly on the *warlike* Genius, of the State. Their Annals abound with ſo many Inſtances of this grand Paſſion, that preſent Times ſtand amazed, and with Difficulty credit their Story. 2. This

2. This Paſſion, founded on an *early*, though *not* a *preſcribed*, Education, was ſo ſtrengthened by their *religious* Syſtem, that till the fatal Entrance of the Doctrine of EPICURUS, no *Roman* was ever known to have violated his Oath *.

3. Their Principle of *Honour* coincided with that of their Religion. It was ſo ſtrong, at the Time of the firſt Formation of the Republic, that the Puniſhment of *Diſgrace* was judged ſufficient to deter the People from a Violation of the Laws. "When "a Delinquent was cited before the People "(ſaith LIVY) the *Valerian* Law ordained "only, that he ſhould be branded as *in-*"*famous* †."

4. From the Truths laid down above, it appears, that the Principle of natural *Conſcience* muſt of Courſe co-operate with theſe, for the Confirmation of civil Freedom. The Force of this Principle is no leſs conſpicuous in the early Periods of

* See Monteſq. Grand. des Rom. C. x. Polyb. l. vi.
† Liv. Hiſt. l. x.

Roman

Roman Liberty: It aroſe even into a ferocious Pride of Virtue, independent of all outward Teſtimony, which hath diſtinguiſhed the great Names of ancient ROME, from Thoſe of every other People upon Earth.

5. To theſe we muſt add the *Equality* of Property, the *Mediocrity* of Poſſeſſion, the *Simplicity* of Life, which prevailed in early ROME; all theſe were the Outworks that guarded the internal Strength of Manners and Principles; and ſeemed, like the Inſtitutions of SPARTA, to promiſe an Eternity of Freedom.

But in Spite of all theſe Foundations of civil Liberty, there were three fatal Circumſtances, admitted into the very Eſſence of the Republic, which contained the *Seeds* of *certain Ruin*: While the *Tree* ſeemed to *flouriſh* in its full Growth and Vigour, *Theſe*, like *Canker-Worms*, lay *eating* at the Root.

The firſt of theſe was the Neglect of inſtituting public Laws, by which the *Edu-*

Education of their Children might have been *aſcertained*. This is juſtly charged by PLUTARCH, as a capital Defect in NUMA's Legiſlation *: This Defect, when once admitted into the Eſſence of the State, could not eaſily be rectify'd in ſucceeding Times: The principle could only have been effectually infuſed, at the general Formation of the whole Maſs. In Conſequence of this Error in the firſt Concoction, the ſupporting Principles of Freedom were vague and fluctuating: For Want of this *preventing* Power, the incidental Vices of a Parent were naturally tranſmitted to his Children, and thence to future Ages. The rigorous Education of SPARTA was a ſtrong Check to the Proneneſs of human Nature towards Degeneracy and Corruption: Through This, every incidental Vice dy'd with its firſt Poſſeſſor: While the more lax Inſtitution of the *Roman* Republic ſuffered every original Taint in Manners and

* See above, Sect. vii.

Principles to be transfuſed into, and to contaminate, ſucceeding Times.

The ſecond of theſe was "Their Prin-"ciple of *unlimited Conqueſt*." Their early Paſſion for War aroſe from their *Neceſſities*. On their firſt Eſtabliſhment, they had neither *Territory* nor *Commerce*: They lived by *Plunder*: Hence, the *ruling Genius* of the *State* was *warlike*: Their warlike Genius was *unchecked* by any other Principle: Hence, unremitted Exerciſes, unceaſing Improvements in Diſcipline, increaſing Valour and Ferocity aroſe. Thus they attempted to ſubdue, and thus they ſubdued the World.

But ſuch an Empire is utterly *untenable*: *Valour* may *acquire*, but cannot *maintain* it. The *Body* of ſuch a State is too enormous to be effectually animated by the *Soul*. This is a Cauſe of Ruin ſo clear, that it hath met every Writer's Obſervation; and therefore needs no farther Proof.

The

The third Principle of inevitable Deſtruction, which ſeems to have been inwrought into the very Eſſence of the *Roman* Republic, was the fatal Principle of *Change*: This is a Cauſe not ſo obvious; and therefore may require a farther Inveſtigation.

MONTESQUIEU hath juſtly obſerved, that one Cauſe of the *Roman Greatneſs* was "their *adopting* any Inſtitution or Cuſtom "of other Nations whom they conquer'd, "provided it was better than their own *." It ſeems to have eſcaped the Obſervation of this great Writer, that the ſame Principle of *Adoption*, carried through every Period of the Republic, led the Way to its final *Ruin*.

For altho' in the early Periods, when Manners were ſimple, and concurrent Principles were ſtrong, this Spirit of *Adoption* was confined to Cuſtoms that were *better* than their own; yet in the ſucceeding Pe-

* Grandeur &c. C. i. ii.

riods, when Manners grew more relaxed, and Principles were weakened, the ſame Spirit of *Adoption* opened a Door for the Admiſſion of *Cuſtoms* that were *pernicious*.

Thus the Admiſſion of *Change*, which in the virtuous Ages led to the *Greatneſs*, in ſucceeding Times brought on the *Deſtruction* of the Republic.

The ſagacious *Romans* ſoon found the Conſequences of this Defect: They ſaw, that through a Want of original, *preventive*, and ſalutary Inſtitutions, bad Manners were creeping inſenſibly on the State. Hence the Creation of the *Cenſors* had its Riſe: An Office, which immediately took Cognizance of the Manners of the *Citizens*.

But this high Office was ineffectual in its End; becauſe it had not Power univerſally to *prevent, but* only in Part to *remedy* the Evil. Hence, while *particular* and *detected Offences* only could be puniſhed by the *Cenſor*, the *Hearts* and *Manners* of the People were laid open to a *general Corruption*,

ruption, from the fatal Principle of *Novelty* and *Adoption*.

The Danger ariſing from this Principle manifeſtly increaſed with the increaſing Empire: That *Identity* and *Integrity* of Manners and Principles, which is the Soul and Security of every free State, gave Way to Manners and Principles wholly *diſſimilar*. New Maxims of Life, new Principles of Religion and Irreligion, of Honour and Diſhonour, of Right and Wrong, picked up indiſcriminately among the Nations which they conquered, by Degrees infuſed themſelves into the Heads and Hearts of the *Roman* Citizens.

Here, then, we ſee the original Foundation of all the Miſery and Ruin which enſued. On the Conqueſt of the *luxurious*, *immoral*, and *unprincipled* Tribes of GREECE, the *Romans*, having no *preventive Remedy* in the Eſſence of their State, of Courſe *adopted* the *Luxury*, the *Immoralities*, the *Irreligion*, of the conquered People.

" It ſeems to me (ſays the excellent " MONTESQUIEU) that the *Epicurean* " Sect, which made its Way into ROME " towards the Cloſe of the Republic, con- " tributed much to corrupt the Hearts of " the *Romans*. The *Greeks* had been in- " fatuated with it before them; accord- " ingly, they were ſooner corrupt. PO- " LYBIUS tells us, that in His Time, no " *Greek* could be truſted, on the Security " of his Oath; whereas, a *Roman* was in- " evitably bound by it*."—He adds, " CYNEAS having diſcourſed on the *Epi-* " *curean* Syſtem at the Table of PYRRHUS, " FABRICIUS wiſhed that all the Enemies " of ROME might hold the *Principles* of " *ſuch a Sect* †."

Thus, as in the early Periods of the Commonwealth they had adopted the *Virtues*, in the latter Times they aſſumed the *Vices*, of the conquered Nations. Thus, by unperceived Gradations, the ſame Principle, " The Admiſſion of *Change*, firſt led

* Grandeur &c. C. x. † Ib.

" to

" to the *Greatneſs*, and then to the *Ruin* " of the Republic."

All the particular Conſequences that followed, were *occaſional* and *inevitable*. The Rapacity, the Factions, the civil Wars, the enormous Profligacy of Individuals, the horrible Calamities of the State;—All theſe are finely purſued by MONTESQUIEU; and were no more than the natural and incidental Effects of this general Cauſe, " The Loſs of Manners " and Principles."

Hence, the *Progreſs* and *Retreat* of the *Roman Power* reſembled the *Flow* and the *Ebb* of a vaſt Ocean; which, rowzed from its Bed by central Concuſſions, *overwhelmed* and *forſook* the *Earth*.

SECT. X.

How far theſe Facts can properly be apply'd to the political State of Great-Britain.

THOUGH the Study of Hiſtory be often inſtructive and uſeful, yet, in one Reſpect, it becomes the Source of frequent Error, even when it is written with Impartiality and Truth. This ariſeth from a miſtaken Application of hiſtorical Facts. Errors of this kind are apt to creep into all Reaſonings, on every Subject, where Men and Manners are concerned: But they are liable to infect *political* Reaſonings, above all others.

As the political Intereſts of Men form the principal Subject of Hiſtory, the Reaſoner on this Subject hath Recourſe to Facts, as the beſt Support of his Argument. Yet, the Politician ſeems, of all others, moſt liable to be miſtaken in the Application of Hiſtory to his own Purpoſe;

Purpoſe; becauſe the political Connexions and Intereſts of Men are, above all others, *complicated* and *various*.

Hence, as no two political Conſtitutions were ever the *ſame* in *all* their Circumſtances, though *ſimilar* in *many*; ſo, all Arguments drawn from a *partial* Reſemblance, muſt be inadequate and inconcluſive; unleſs when it appears, that no other Circumſtances took Place, by which That *partial* Reſemblance might be *counteracted*, and its Effects deſtroyed.

Yet, it hath been a Practice too common among political Reaſoners, from a *partial* Reſemblance between two States, to infer a *total* one; and becauſe they have been *like* in *ſome* Reſpects, to draw Concluſions, as if they had been *like* in *all*.

Much Caution, therefore, is neceſſary, in the Application of hiſtorical Facts: Without This, we ſhall run into perpetual Error. Let us, then, remark ſome of the moſt *eſſential* Circumſtances, in which the Conſtitution of the *Britiſh* State

differs from thoſe of SPARTA, ATHENS, and ROME; and then draw ſuch Concluſions, as may be conſiſtent with theſe Diſtinctions.

1. We may lay it down as a fundamental Truth generally acknowledged, that the *political* Conſtitution of GREAT BRITAIN, in its *main Outline*, is *better modeled* than thoſe of SPARTA, ATHENS, or ROME. The legiſlative and executive Powers are more equally balanced, and more clearly diſtinguiſhed. Now, if Laws could ſupport themſelves, it would follow, that this political State muſt *therefore* be of *longer Duration*. But as it hath been made appear, that the Duration of free States depends not ſo much on their mere *Forms*, as on the *Manners* and *Principles* which ſupport them; ſo, nothing can be decided concerning the *Duration* of the *Britiſh* State, from its mere *external Model*.

2. The *Chriſtian* Religion, eſtabliſhed in BRITAIN, is, in its own Nature, far ſupe-

ſuperior to that of theſe ancient Commonwealths. The abſolute Perfection and glorious Attributes of the Deity; the great Principle of univerſal Charity; the particular Duties of Man to Man, thence reſulting; the Sanctions of future Reward and Puniſhment; all theſe tend to purify and exalt the Soul, far beyond the Rites of ancient Paganiſm: For This, even in its beſt Forms, was ever built on the Hiſtory and Examples of deify'd Men, whoſe Lives had often been blotted with the moſt flagrant Crimes; and therefore could never exalt the Heart of Man, beyond this weak Principle of Elevation.—But as the *Power* of a *Religion* depends not only on its *excellent Genius*, but on its being *effectually impreſſed* on the Mind; ſo, no Conſequence can be juſtly drawn, from the mere *un-apply'd* Excellence of its Nature.

3. That *Self-Conſiſtence*, and perfect *Unity* of Parts which diſtinguiſhed the Republic of SPARTA, cannot be expected nor found

found in that of BRITAIN. For the firſt was the entire Work of a ſingle Legiſlator, ſtruck out at one Heat; all its Inſtitutions conſpiring to one End, and centering (like the Radii of a Circle) in one ſingle Point: To This, the outward Form of Government, the internal State of Education, of Religion, Manners and Principles, were uniformly ſubordinate. But at the Time of the *Revolution*, which was the firſt Æra of BRITAIN's Freedom, many prior Inſtitutions and Eſtabliſhments, both in Religion and Policy, Manners and Principles, had taken Place: Theſe had been formed on the fortuitous Events of Time; and had reſulted from a Variety of contending Parties; of *Power* fluctuating at different Periods, between the *Kings*, the *Nobles*, the *Prieſthood*, and the *People*. All theſe it was impoſſible for human Art to remove and new-model, without ſhaking the State to its Foundations: Hence, though the Form of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, civil and religious, be of unri-

unrivaled Excellence; yet in its very Birth it came attended with unalterable Weakneſs.—It wanted that general Self-Conſiſtence, that entire Unity of Parts, as well as of eſtabliſhed Habits, Manners, and Principles, ſuited to the Genius of the State, which was the very Spirit and Support of the *Spartan* Commonwealth. In this Circumſtance, it appears likewiſe inferior to the *Roman* Commonwealth; yet, perhaps, ſuperior to that of *Athens*.

4. The *Britiſh* Syſtem of Polity and Religion, perfect in its leading Parts, but imperfectly united and ſupported, is not upheld in its native Power (like that of SPARTA) by correſpondent and effectual Rules of Education. The Fundamental Laws of our Country, the Principles and Duties of Chriſtianity, are indeed occaſionally explained and taught, in a certain Manner and Degree: But it is in the Power of every Private Man to educate his Child, not only without a Reverence for Theſe, but in an abſolute Contempt of

of them. It is much in every Parent's Option, whether he will impreſs his Childrens Hearts with ſuch Habits and Principles as accord to the Genius of the State, or with Impunity ſuffer them to contract ſuch Manners and Opinions as tend to its Diſſolution. A Circumſtance pregnant with Danger to this free State: For hence, Manners and Principles, its chief Support, are liable to be incurably perverted in the Heart, at that Time of Life, in which alone they can be effectually impreſſed.

5. In the important Circumſtance of "the Admiſſion of *Change*," or the "Principle of *Adoption*," the *Britiſh* Conſtitution is contrary to That of SPARTA; and nearly on a Level with Thoſe of ATHENS and ROME.—Foreign Commerce, foreign Travel, new Manners, new Principles, new Modes of Dreſs, of Amuſement, of Luxury, are here adopted with a Degree of Avidity almoſt unbounded. —Happy would the Writer eſteem his Labours,

Labours, if this Principle, which *in ſome Reſpects* hath tended ſo much to the *Improvement* of his Country, could in any Degree be checked by his weak Admonitions, from *degenerating* into a *Cauſe* of its *Deſtruction*.

6. The laſt Circumſtance of Note, here to be remarked, is "The Difference of Cha-" racter among the ſeveral *Ranks* of the " Community in theſe ancient free States, " and That of *Britain*."

In Point of *Knowledge* and *Ability*, the Difference was great between the *Nobles* and the *People*, in theſe ancient States: In BRITAIN, the *Nobles* and the *People* (in their *legiſlative* Capacity) are fairly on a *Level*. When ALCIBIADES addreſſed the legiſlative Body of the *Athenian* People, he addreſſed *Coblers*, *Braſiers*, *Tanners*, *Tent-Makers*. When the People of ROME retired in Diſcontent to the ſacred Mountain, they were appeaſed by the Fable of the *Belly*, *Head*, and *Hands*. A *Lord* of Parliament would make but a ſorry Figure,

who ſhould come armed with *ſuch* an *Apologue*, for the *Conviction* of a *Britiſh* Houſe of *Commons*.

Again: In each of theſe ancient Republics, the collective Body of the *People* were much of one uniform Character; being Inhabitants of the ſame City, and nearly on a Level with Reſpect to Employment and Property. In ATHENS, they were all *Artiſans* or *Tradeſmen*: In SPARTA and ROME, they were all *Soldiers*. A low Degree of Knowledge was their general Lot: For much Knowledge can only be acquired by much Leiſure: which their Occupations did not allow. The People of SPARTA were intentionally virtuous: Thoſe of ATHENS were corrupt: Thoſe of ROME were of a mixed Character. As theſe free States voted not by Repreſentatives, the Preſence of the People was neceſſary, in all Deciſions of a public Nature: Hence, ſuch a People, from their Ignorance, Wants, collective Preſence, and Pride of Power, muſt ever and ſuddenly be ſwayed

ſwayed by the Eloquence of public Demagogues.

But the *collective* Body of the People of BRITAIN are of a Nature and Character leſs uniform, and eſſentially different. They may properly be divided into two Claſſes; "The *People* of the "*Kingdom*;" and "the *Populace* of its "*Cities*."

The *Populace* of its *Cities* reſemble Thoſe of ATHENS in moſt Things; except only, that they are not poſſeſſed of the *legiſlative Power*. For the *Populace* of ATHENS were "a Body of *Labourers* and *Mechanics*, "who earned their Bread with the Sweat "of their Brows; too generally ignorant "and ill-educated; too generally profligate "in Manners, and void of Principle."

But the *People* of this *Kingdom*, in their *collective* Body, are upon the Whole, of a quite different Character. For under this Title are properly comprehended "all "Thoſe who ſend Repreſentatives for the "Counties to Parliament." This Catalogue will

will include the landed *Gentry*, the beneficed Country *Clergy*, many of the more conſiderable *Merchants* and Men in *Trade*, the ſubſtantial and induſtrious *Freeholders* or *Yeomen:* A collective Body of Men, with all their incidental Failings, as *different* in Character from the *Populace* of any great *City*, as the *Air* of RICHMOND HILL from that of BILLINGSGATE or WAPPING.

SECT. XI.

Of the general State of Manners and Principles, about the Time of the Revolution.

AT this famed Period, it is evident, that the Manners and Principles of the Nation did, upon the Whole, tend to the Eſtabliſhment of *Liberty*; otherwiſe, Liberty had not been eſtabliſhed. This Revolution was perhaps the nobleſt public *Reform* that ever was made in any State: And ſuch a Reform, nothing but the *Prevalence*

valence of *upright Manners* and *Principles* could have *effected.*

The *religious* Principle of *Proteſtant Chriſtianity* ſeems to have taken the Lead, even of the Love of civil Freedom. The Dread of *Popery* was at leaſt, equal to That of *arbitrary Power:* The national *Honour* and *Conſcience* (on the whole) co-incided with, and confirmed the *Chriſtian* Principle: Theſe three united Powers raiſed Liberty to the brighteſt Throne ſhe ever ſat on: A Throne which nothing but their *Contraries* can *ſhake.*

Yet notwithſtanding the unrivaled Excellence of this civil and religious Eſtabliſhment, there could be little Hope of its immediate and perfect Efficacy. Declaimers may expreſs their Wonder, that a Syſtem ſo perfect ſhould not at once attain its End: But they who take a nearer View of the Manners and Principles of thoſe Times, will rather ſay, that the Tumult and Diſſentions which inſtantly aroſe, were in their own Nature *inevitable.*

The Manners of the Times, tho' in the Main favourable to Liberty, were mixed with a groſs Alloy of *private Licentiouſneſs*: And hence, factious Meaſures of Courſe aroſe, from the Proſpect of Power or Gain *. The preceding Age had caught a ſtrong Tincture of *Vice*, from the prevalent Example of a debauched Court. The *Education* of Children was ſtill left in an *imperfect* State: This great Revolution having confined itſelf to the Reform of *public* Inſtitutions; without aſcending to the firſt great Fountain of political Security, "the private and effectual "Formation of the *infant* Mind."

The *religious* Principle, though chiefly conſonant with the new Conſtitution, and indeed its leading Support, was in *Part* at *Variance* with it. --- A numerous Body of *Papiſts* held a whole Syſtem of Principles diametrically oppoſite to its moſt eſſential Dictates. --- Another Body of Pro-

* See *Eſtimate*, Vol. i. Part 2.

teſtant

teſtant *Jacobites* were at War with the Principles of the State: For they held an hereditary and unalienable Right of Kings, founded on certain *miſtaken* Paſſages of the ſacred Scriptures. --- A third Body of Men, though they allowed the Neceſſity and Juſtice of the Revolution, on the Principle of an *Abdication*, yet ſtill retained an Opinion at Variance with the State: They aſſerted an *independent Hierarchy*, vindicated a religious *Intolerance*, and on ſome miſconſtrued Paſſages of Scripture, affirmed the Duty of a *paſſive Obedience* without Limitation. --- A fourth Body was That of ſome bigoted *Diſſenters*, who not content with a religious Toleration which had been juſtly granted them, aimed, on a miſtaken Principle of Religion, to erect their own Syſtem upon the Ruins of the eſtabliſhed Church. --- All theſe Parties held *religious Principles* at *Variance* with the *Laws* of *Freedom*.

The Principle of *Honour*, tho' in many, and great Inſtances, co-operating with that of Religion; yet when not founded on it, was often at *Variance* with it. This Principle, as it hath appeared in modern Times, was in its Origin chiefly *Military*. Hence it hath generally taken Cognizance of Actions, not as they are *juſt* or *unjuſt*, but merely as they are *ſplendid* or *mean*, *brave* or *cowardly*: Thus, it overlooks all Laws, both human and divine: Hence unbounded Contempt of Enemies, furious Party-Rage, unlimited Reſentment and Revenge, *were* and ſtill *are* its favourite Dictates. Thus it hath come to paſs, that Honour often forbids what Religion approves; and approves what Religion forbids. This uncontrouled and dangerous Principle mixed itſelf with the licentious Manners of the Times: Hence, Attachments, Reſentments, and Party-Rage, aroſe and were perſiſted in, eſſentially contradictory to the Principles of Freedom.

Con-

Conſonant with what hath been above delivered, the Principle of *Conſcience* did not *correct*, but *followed* one or other of theſe various Principles, according to their Predominance and Power. And *Theſe* being incurably diſcordant among themſelves, the national Ideas of Right and Wrong, Juſt and Unjuſt, which were formed on *Theſe*, could not but prove themſelves of the like *motley* and *diſagreeable* Complexion.

Here, then, we behold the natural and unavoidable Source of all the Diſſentions that diſgraced the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE. And while ſome affect to wonder, how ſo generous a Syſtem of Religion and Polity, ſo noble a Conſtitution in Church and State, could fail to produce private Virtue and public Happineſs; we now obtain an additional Proof of the irreſiſtable Power of *pre-eſtabliſhed Manners* and *Principles*, when at *Variance* with the *Laws* of *Freedom*: We may ſee, even to Demonſtration,

that the *Animoſities* of *Thoſe Times* were *not incidental*, but *inevitable*.

SECT. XII.

Of the Changes in Manners and Principles through the ſucceeding Times.

THE Acceſſion of GEORGE the Firſt ſeemed the Æra of perfect Freedom. And if an excellent King, at the Head of an unrivaled Conſtitution, could have ſecured Liberty; it had now been fixed on immoveable Foundations.

The Alloy of *licentious Manners* and *contradictory Principles* which had tarniſhed the preceding Reign, ſtill maintained their Influence: But the declared and zealous Advocates for Liberty now aſſumed the Reins of Power, and began more effectually to combat thoſe *falſe Principles* which were at *Enmity* with the *State*.

Would

Would to God, theſe intentional Friends of public Liberty had been as much the Friends of private Virtue and Religion! They would not, then, have undermined the Foundations, while they were building the Superſtructure of civil Freedom.

The Seeds of Irreligion had for ſome Time been privately fermenting. But they did not break forth into open Growth till about this Period. --- 'Tis remarkable, that BURNET *, enumerating the Dangers by which the State was threatened in the Year 1708, makes no Mention of *Irreligion*, as an Evil worth being obviated. But ſoon after, this Peſtilence came on with a terrible Swiftneſs and Malignity.

The ſlaviſh Principle of abſolute *Non-Reſiſtance*, and an *independent Hierarchy*, were ſtill prevalent in Part, eſpecially among the *Clergy*. To combat *theſe*, and expoſe them to the public Contempt, certain Writers were encouraged by Thoſe

* Concluſion of his Hiſtory.

in Power. A vigorous and effectual Attack was made on the Advocates for Deſpotiſm. But in their Zeal againſt Tyranny, theſe Writers ſupplanted Freedom.

They aſſailed *Superſtition* with ſuch Weapons as deſtroyed *Religion:* They oppoſed *Intolerance* by Arguments and Ridicule which tended to ſweep away all public *Eſtabliſhments:* While they only aimed (perhaps) to contend for *Freedom* of *Thought*, they unwarily ſapped the Foundation of all ſalutary *Principles* *.

CATO's *Letters*, and the *Independent Whig*, among many other Tracts of leſs Note, ſeem palpable Inſtances of this Truth: The one was written in Defence of *civil*, the other of *religious* Liberty. Yet both tended, in their general Tour, to relax thoſe Principles by which alone Freedom, either civil or religious, can be ſuſtained: By their intemperate Inſults on religious Inſtitutions; by their public and

* See the Div. Leg. of Moſes. Dedication, Vol. ii. p. 6, &c.

avowed

avowed Contempt of all Opinions, Principles, (or, if you pleaſe) Prejudices inſtilled into the infant Mind, as the neceſſary Regulators of human Conduct: By exalting unaided human Reaſon far beyond the Rank ſhe holds in Nature: By debaſing all thoſe Aſſiſtances which the Wiſdom of Ages had preſcribed and conſecrated, as the neceſſary Means of correcting her vague and wandring Dictates.

While Theſe Authors made this ill-judged, and perhaps undeſigned Attack, on the Foundations of civil Liberty; others made a ſtill bolder and more fatal Inroad; and opened a wider Door for *Licentiouſneſs*, by an Attack on *Chriſtianity* itſelf.

In this Liſt of Enemies to their Country, it muſt be a Mortification to every Friend of Virtue and Liberty, to find the noble Author of the *Characteriſtics*. His Morals were unblemiſhed, his Love of Virtue and Freedom indiſputable: But by confounding two Things, which he ſaw *accidently united*, though in their Nature

eſſen-

eſſentially diſtinguiſhed, he polluted his *Arguments* againſt *Intolerance*, with the groſſeſt *Buffoonries* on *Chriſtianity*.

There is no Doubt, but that the current Reaſonings of the Times had brought him to a Habit of Belief, that all This was harmleſs Paſtime. To this Purpoſe he ſeems to ſpeak himſelf. "'Tis certain, "that in Matters of Learning and Philo-"ſophy, the Practice of *pulling down* is "*pleaſanter*, and affords more *Entertain-*"*ment*, than that of *building* and *ſetting* "*up*. --- In the literate warring World, the "*ſpringing* of *Mines*, the *blowing up* of "Towers, Baſtions, and Ramparts of Phi-"loſophy, with *Syſtems*, *Hypotheſes*, *Opi-*"*nions*, and *Doctrines* into the Air, is a "*Spectacle* of all other the moſt naturally "*rejoicing* *."

Theſe intemperate Sallies of Gaiety may ſerve as a Comment on the Paſſage already cited from CATO's *Letters*. They are a clear and concurrent Indication of the

* Miſcell. iii. Chap. 1.

ruling

ruling Principle of the Times; when *Opinions* and *Doctrines* began to be derided as Things *indifferent*. The noble Writer was naturally led to embrace this growing Error of the Times, by a too flattering Opinion which he had imbibed concerning unaſſiſted human Nature; as being ſufficient of itſelf to eſtabliſh the unerring Practice of Virtue, unleſs beforehand ſophiſticated by ſervile Inſtitutions.

The noble Writer, indeed, attempts a Vindication of this licentious Conduct, by an Appeal to the Practice of ancient GREECE and ROME. There, he tells us, "*Philoſophy* had a free Courſe, and was "permitted as a *Balance* againſt *Super-*"*ſtition*. And while ſome Sects, ſuch as "the *Pythagorean* and latter *Platonic*, "joined in with the Superſtition and "Enthuſiaſm of the Times; the EPICU-"REAN, the *Academic*, and *others*, were "allowed to uſe all the Force of *Wit* and "*Raillery* againſt it *."---This hath a plau-

* Letter on Enthuſiaſm.

ſible

ſible Appearance: Yet I am perſwaded, the noble Author would have looked grave, had he been put in Mind of the Remark which FABRICIUS made on the *Epicurean* Sect, "that he wiſhed *ſuch Principles* to "all the *Enemies* of ROME*." Or had he recollected, that when the *irreligious* Syſtem of EPICURUS prevailed in GREECE and ROME, theſe *unprincipled* and *profligate* States were on the *Eve* of their *Deſtruction*.

Soon after the Author of the *Characteriſtics*, another more diſſolute Writer appeared on the public Stage. I mean, the Author of "*The Fable of the Bees*." This Gentleman, as hath been obſerved above, leveled his Artillery on the whole Fabric of *Morals* and *Religion*. His Syſtem was diametrically oppoſite to that of Lord SHAFTESBURY: The one was founded on the *unaided Excellence*, the other on the *incurable Depravity* of *human Nature*. But now the vagrant Spirit of Irreligion

* See above, p. 76.

was

was Abroad; and the moſt inconſiſtent Productions were greedily ſwallowed, provided only they *diſgraced* CHRISTIANITY.

The Avidity with which theſe Compoſitions were received, ſoon emboldened a ſucceeding Writer, to make a formal Attack on the Religion of his Country: *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation* now appeared: In which the Goſpel was groſly miſrepreſented, inſulted, and diſgraced; and in Compliance with the ruling Malady of the Times, that *poor* and *ſickly* Creature, "unaſſiſted *Human Reaſon*," was vainly exalted to the *Throne* of ETERNAL TRUTH!

Other inferior Workmen in this patriot Amuſement of blowing up the Religion of their Country, ſuch as WOOLSTON, and MORGAN, I paſs unnoticed.

In a ſucceeding Period, and down to the preſent Time, the Evil hath increaſed, and been compleated. For now, not only *revealed* but *natural* Religion hath been publicly attacked, in the Writings of

of Lord BOLINGBROKE: An Author who ſtands convicted of deſigned Profligacy, even on his own Confeſſion. "Some "Men there are, *the Peſts* of *Society I* "*think them*, who pretend a great Regard "to Religion in general, but who take "every Opportunity of declaiming pub- "licly againſt that Syſtem of Religion, "or at leaſt that Church Eſtabliſhment, "which is received in BRITAIN *."---You See, this patriot Writer proclaims his Abhorrence even of Thoſe who aſſault the *Out-Works* of Religion: And then, with Modeſty unparalled, proceeds to blow up the *Citadel*.

The laſt of theſe patriot Worthies, by which the preſent Age ſtands diſtinguiſhed, is the Author of "Eſſays philoſo- "phical and moral:" Who, diſdaining the vulgar Practice of a particular Attack, *undermines* all the *Foundations* of *Religion*, *revealed* and *natural*; and with a Pen truly *Epicurean*, diſſolves at once all

* Diſſert. on Parties. Let. xii.

the

the *Fears* of the *Guilty*, the *Comforts* of the *Afflicted*, and the *Hopes* of the *Virtuous*.

Such, then, hath been the Progreſs of this public Evil; which hath proceeded almoſt without *Cognizance* from the Magiſtrate: Inſtead of *That*, it is well known, that ſome of theſe public Enemies of their Country and Mankind were formerly penſioned, and others privately encouraged by Thoſe in Power. How This came to paſs, and aggravated the growing Evil, it is now neceſſary to point out.

We have ſeen above, that a Foundation was laid for this, in an ill-conducted Oppoſition to the Enemies of Freedom. They who were employed to ſweep away *falſe Principles*, imprudently ſtruck at *all Principles*.

But beyond This, a famous Miniſter aſſumed, and long held the Reins of Power. There ſeems not the leaſt Foundation for the Charge laid againſt him by his Enemies, "That his Deſign was to inſlave "his Country." Neither had he any natural

natural Inclination to corrupt Practices: Yet he rather choſe to rule by Theſe, than to reſign his Power. Nay, perhaps he thought this corrupt Syſtem the only one, which, under the Circumſtances of Thoſe Times, could ſupport that illuſtrious Family, which was brought in, as the happy Support of Liberty. Farther, perhaps, he judged This the only poſſible Expedient for prolonging a *Peace*, which He thought *neceſſary*, till Time ſhould wear out the falſe Principles, on which the expelled Family ſtill held their Influence in the Minds of the People.--- From *ſome* or *all* of theſe Motives, He not only *gave Way* to Corruption, but *encouraged* it. To this End, *Religion* was *diſcountenanced:* And *Chriſtian Principle*, which would have been the firmeſt *Friend* of *Liberty*, was *diſcarded*, as the *Enemy* of *Corruption*.

In the mean Time, *Trade*, *Wealth*, and *Luxury* increaſed: Theſe, in their *Extreme*, having an unalterable Tendency

to

to a Diſſolution of Manners and Principles, went Hand in Hand with the Progreſs of Corruption; which, in its moſt improved State, this miſtaken Miniſter left, as a laſting Legacy to his Country.*

The Effects of this eſtabliſhed Syſtem of Corruption did not immediately appear: But about the Year fifty-ſeven, they came to their *Criſis*; advancing with the Appearances even of *public Ruin*.

That powerful Correctreſs, NECESSITY, gave a *temporary Union* to all Parties, and a *temporary Reſtoration* to the *State*.† But from the Deduction of Cauſes here given, it was natural to expect, that as ſoon as *Danger* ceaſed, *Faction* would ariſe.

It follows alſo, that it muſt ariſe on Foundations widely different from Thoſe in the Reigns of WILLIAM and ANNE. For the Diſſentions of theſe *paſt* Times were chiefly founded in *falſe Principles*:

* See the Eſtimate, &c. Vol. ii. p. 204, &c.
† See ib. Vol. i. p. the laſt.

Thoſe of the *preſent* Age, on a *Want of Principle*.

For the falſe Principles which diſgraced the Proteſtants of the laſt Age, are vaniſhed. The miſtaken Interpretations of Scripture, on which the *Jacobite*, the *Tory*, the *bigoted Diſſenter*, founded their various Pretenſions and Attempts, are *now* held in general Deriſion: A Preacher, of whatever religious Congregation, who ſhould *now* advance theſe obſolete State-Heterodoxies, would be the Contempt of his wiſer Audience.

Nay, what is more, theſe falſe Principles tending to Deſpotiſm, are generally baniſhed, even from the Breaſts of the Clergy, except only a very few of the moſt aged. For the Biſhops being appointed by the Patrons of Liberty, have been ſuch as held Principles conſiſtent with the Freedom of the State: And much Caution having been required of them, and uſed by them, in the Appointments of their Clergy, the general Complexion of this Body hath changed

changed from That of being the *Enemies*, to That of being the *Friends* of Freedom.

Much it were to be wiſhed, that along with the *Tares*, the *Wheat* had not alſo periſhed. But the general Syſtem of *Manners* being *relaxed* though *refined*;* and *Education* ſtill left more and more *imperfect*; the Principle of *Religion* being unhappily *deſtroyed* among certain Ranks, and *weakened* among *others*; †---That of *Honour* being thus left to its own *falſe* and *fantaſtic* Dictates; ‡---and *Conſcience* naturally following the *Whims* of its *untutored* Parent; --- *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*, founded on a *Want* of *Principle*, cannot but ariſe, and ſtand among the "*leading Cha-*"*racters* of the *preſent Times*."

* See the Eſtimate, Part i. † Ib. ‡ Ib.

SECT. XIII.

Among what Ranks, Licentiouſneſs and Faction may moſt probably be expected.

THOUGH this Want of Principle muſt naturally infect every Rank of Men, in a certain Degree; yet ſome Ranks ſtand more expoſed to it than others.

And, that we may give as little Offence as poſſible, while we ſpeak the Truth, let it be obſerved, that all Orders of Men being born with an equal Tendency to Virtue or Vice; their adopting the One, or falling into the Other, depends chiefly on the Temptations to which their *Rank* expoſes them.

Let us conſider the Temptations to Licentiouſneſs and Faction, to which the *leading Ranks* ſtand expoſed.

Wealth and Power give Opportunities of Indulgence; Indulgence naturally inflames Appetite.---Flattery awakens Contempt; and Contempt weakens the Fear of

of Offence or Shame.---Laws which bind little Men, are often too weak for Great ones.---Leiſure, when not dignified by ſuitable Accompliſhments, ends in Idleneſs; and Idleneſs is the Parent and the Nurſe of licentious Folly. To ſuch Temptations do the *Great* ſtand expoſed, in the important Article of *Manners*.

With Reſpect to the *Principle* of *Religion*, their preſent Situation is no leſs unfavourable. Diſſolute Opinions flatter their diſordered Paſſions: Nor will they ever want Sycophants, to preſent this alluring Bait to their Deſires.---The Maxims of Irreligion are now ſo generally eſtabliſhed among Thoſe with whom the young Men of Faſhion converſe, that they muſt be peculiarly fortunate, if they eſcape the *Infection*. Wherever This Taint is given, the Principles of *Honour* and *Conſcience* become vague and ineffectual, if conſidered as the Supports of Liberty. Certain *Delicacies* of *perſonal* Conduct they may produce; but can never riſe to an un-

biaſſed and ſteady Proſecution of the *public Welfare*.

Another Circumſtance unfavourable to the *public* Virtue of the higher Ranks preſents itſelf. Their Situation leads them to *expect*, and to *claim*, the great and *lucrative Offices* of the State. I need not *here* point out, how ſtrongly This tends to betray them into the Extremes of ſelfiſh Views, Ambition, Party-Rage, Licentiouſneſs, and Faction.*

Add to all theſe Conſiderations, their frequent and long-continued Meetings in the Capital: A Circumſtance which, from the powerful Effects of *free Communication*, cannot but inflame all theſe Cauſes of political Diſſention.

If we next examine the State of the *Populace* of the great Cities, we ſhall find that Their Situation naturally expoſes them to ſuch Temptations as lead to factious Conduct, when not early fortified by a virtuous Education. They are often urged

* See the Eſtimate, &c. Vol. i. Part 2.

by

by *Want*; of which, *Diſcontent* and *Envy* are the inevitable Effects. They are let looſe to every Impulſe of Appetite, by frequent Opportunity and Secrecy of Action: They are tempted by wicked Examples; inflamed by evil Communication and intoxicating Liquors: And though the induſtrious Mechanic may ſometimes eſcape the Infection; yet the Life of the *uninſtructed Poor* in great Cities, is too commonly a horrid Compound of Riot and Diſtreſs, Rapacity and Thieving, Proſtitution and Robbery, Wickedneſs and Deſpair.

Now if this Body of Men be indeed, what Candour itſelf cannot deny, "too "generally ignorant and ill-educated; too "generally profligate in Manners, and "void of Principle;" it follows, "that "like the *Athenian Populace* of old, they "muſt be liable to the *Seduction* of artful "Men;" the ready *Tools* of every unprincipled *Leader*, who may chooſe to miſguide them, to the Ends of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

But "*The* PEOPLE *of* GREAT BRI-"TAIN, as above diſtinguiſhed,* are of "a Character eſſentially different from "both Theſe. The landed *Gentry*, the "Country *Clergy*, the more conſiderable "*Merchants* and Men in Trade, the ſub-"ſtantial and induſtrious *Freeholders* and "*Yeomen*," poſſeſs a *middle* State of Life, which guards them from many of thoſe Temptations that ſurround the *higher* and the *lower* Ranks. Their *imaginary* Wants are *fewer* than thoſe of the *Great:* Their *real* Wants are *fewer* than thoſe of the *Poor:* Hence Their Appetites are leſs inflamed to Evil.---Their Education generally ſeconds this happy Situation, in a certain Degree; Though imperfect, it is commonly more conſiſtent with the main Outlines of public Law, than that of the ſuperior or inferior Ranks.---Their Principles of Religion confirm this Education: They ſtand not generally expoſed to the Infection of diſſolute Opinions.

* See p. 87, 88.

Their

Their Sentiments of *Honour* and *Conſcience* are moſt commonly built on the *Doctrines* of *Chriſtianity*.---Their *Numbers* and their *Station* conſpire to *exclude* them from a *general Claim* to the lucrative Offices of the State. Their *collective Knowledge* is of ſufficient Reach to prevent their *general Seduction* to the Purpoſes of *Licentiouſneſs:* Their *Diſperſion*, and rural Life, prevent thoſe continued and unreſtrained Communications, which are alike fatal to private and public Virtue.

Let not the Writer be miſunderſtood. There are Examples of Integrity and Diſhonour, of Virtue and Vice, among all Degrees of Men. He only points out the Circumſtances which naturally tend, upon the Whole, to form the ſeveral Ranks into theſe diſtinct Characters.

From this View of the ſeveral Ranks, it follows, that although "The *People* of "this Kingdom" muſt inevitably partake of the various Manners and Principles of the *Great* and the *Populace*, with whom they

they at Times communicate; though they be ſubject to the common Failings of Men, and to the *incidental* Inroads of Licentiouſneſs from *higher* and *lower* Life;---yet upon the Whole, and conſidered as one *collective Body*, they ſtand comparatively clear of many Temptations to Vice; and therefore muſt naturally be leaſt expoſed to the Influence of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

One Conſequence, ariſing from their *Diſperſion*, muſt not paſs unnoticed. It not only prevents the general Depravation of their Manners and Principles, but likewiſe prevents their *uniting* in large *Bodies*, upon all *ſlight* Occaſions. Hence, though they are apt to *doubt*, nay to be *alarmed*, on the *factious Clamours* of the *Capital*; yet they are not rowzed into *Action*, but on *ſingular* and *important* Emergencies.

To conclude: They are a *great*, but *quieſcent* Power; on whoſe *collective Knowledge* and *Integrity*, the Freedom and Fate of this Nation muſt *finally* depend. In the

the laſt Age, through the Influence of *falſe Principles*, pre-eſtabliſhed or infuſed, they had well-nigh ſhaken the Foundations of Liberty *: In the preſent, *theſe* miſtaken Principles being *no more*, They are now "the firmeſt *Bulwark* of BRITAIN'S "*Freedom.*"

SECT. XIV.

Of the moſt effectual Means of detecting Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

WHERE Faction is founded on falſe *Principles*, it is eaſily *detected*, becauſe it is generally *avowed*. It implies no moral *Depravity*, but only an *Error* of the Mind: And he who holds this *Error*, is not naturally *aſhamed* of it, becauſe he holds it as a *Truth*.

But where Faction is founded on Licentiouſneſs and Want of Principle, it

* See above, p. 91.

cannot

cannot be ſo eaſily detected: For as it implies a moral Depravity, it will naturally attempt to *veil* itſelf; and to this End, will aſſume the *Garb* and *Appearance* of *Freedom*.

The favourite Subject of its Clamours will be the *Miſconduct* of Thoſe who *govern*. And in a Country where Liberty is juſtly ranked among the greateſt national Bleſſings, the moſt plauſible Pretence of Faction will be, "to load the "executive Power with the Charge of "Deſpotiſm."

In every free State there will frequently occur certain Subjects and Meaſures, "of "*doubtful Expediency*." Theſe, in the wide Field of political Contention, may juſtly be ſtiled "the *debateable Grounds*." On theſe doubtful Points, even the Friends of Liberty may ſometimes differ: Therefore the Patrons of Faction will naturally lay hold on theſe, as the moſt ſucceſsful and effectual Means of State Diſtraction: Becauſe Thus they may hope to mingle with,

with, and to paſs for the Friends of Freedom.

When therefore ſuch doubtful Meaſures become the Subject of political Contention; it may be difficult to determine, from the mere Circumſtance of *Opinion*, *who* are the Friends of Liberty, and *who* the Abettors of Faction: Becauſe, in theſe Points, there may be an incidental Difference of Opinion, even among the Friends of Liberty themſelves.

A much ſurer Determination may be formed on the *Manner* and *Conduct* of the *diſſenting Party:* For the Friend of Liberty, having no ſelfiſh Views, will be rational, honeſt, equitable, in the Proſecution of his Wiſhes. He who is actuated by the Spirit of Licentiouſneſs and Faction, will be irrational, diſhoneſt, iniquitous.

Let us, then, endeavour to particularize theſe diſtinctive *Marks* or *Characters:* Thus ſhall we beſt be able to determine, "*who* are the *Friends* of *Liberty*, and *who* "the *Abettors* of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*."

SECT.

SECT. XV.

Of the Characteriſtic Marks of Liberty.

THESE which follow, are perhaps ſome of the cleareſt *Characteriſtics* of the Spirit of *Liberty:* By which the Friends of public Freedom, though diſſentient from any Meaſure of Government, will be evidently diſtinguiſhed. --- *Each* of theſe Marks may ſeem *deciſive*, even when *ſeparately* viewed: But to do Juſtice to this Argument, it will be neceſſary to conſider and *weigh* them in *Union*; becauſe as they in Part *depend* on *each other*, they will *illuſtrate each other*, and at once *receive* and *give* additional *Confirmation*,

1. "The Friend of Liberty will endea-
"vour to preſerve that juſt Balance of
"divided Power, eſtabliſhed by Law, for
"the Security of Freedom."---Becauſe the *public Welfare* is the leading Object of his Wiſhes; and can only be effectually obtained

obtained by the Preſervation of ſuch a Balance.

This will be the general Aim and End of the true Friend of Liberty: This *End* will be proſecuted by *ſuitable Means*; and its *Reality* will be *confirmed* and *illuſtrated* by theſe which follow.

2. " He will be attached to Meaſures, " without reſpecting Men."---Becauſe the Paſſions and Intereſts of Individuals ought to yield to the public Weal.

3. " He will be generally ſelf-conſiſtent, " both in Speech and Action."---Becauſe, the public Welfare being the uniform Object of his Purſuits. This can only be ſteadily and effectually promoted, on clear and uniform Principles.

4. " He will not attempt to inflame an " ignorant Populace againſt their legal Go- " vernors."---Becauſe an ignorant Populace are, in all Caſes, unqualified to decide on the Meaſures of Government.

5. " His Debates, either in the Senate, " or from the Preſs, will be void of un-

" diſtinguiſhing

" diſtinguiſhing and injurious Imputations " on any whole Bodies of Men, who may " differ from him in Opinion."---Becauſe, Truth and the public Welfare being his deſired End, he will clearly ſee, that *others* have the ſame Right of *approving*, as *Himſelf* hath of *diſapproving*, the Meaſures of Government.

6. " He will not induſtriouſly and indiſ- " criminately defame the private Characters " of the Individuals who differ from him in " Opinion."---Becauſe Calumny thrown on Individuals is a ſtill more aggravated Crime, than that which is promiſcuouſly aimed at Bodies of Men.

SECT. XVI.

Of the firſt characteriſtic Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

THOUGH we have ſeen, that the Patrons of Faction will attempt to mix and confound themſelves with the Friends

Friends of Liberty; yet, in Spite of their Pretences, they will be detected by the following characteriſtic Marks, which will ſtand in *clear Oppoſition* to Thoſe of *Freedom*.

Theſe, like the former, may ſeem ſufficiently deciſive, even when *ſeparately* viewed: But to do Juſtice to this Argument, it will in the ſame Manner be neceſſary to *conſider* and *weigh* them in *Union*: Becauſe, as they in Part *depend* on *each other*, they will *illuſtrate each other*, and at once *receive* and *give* additional *Confirmation*.

1. "The Leaders of Faction (being naturally of the higher Ranks*) would "aim to eſtabliſh an *ariſtocratic Power*; "and *inſlave* both *Prince* and *People* to their "own Avarice and Ambition."

Thus, if any Set of Men had in *former* Times been in Power; and while in Power, had oppreſſed embarraſſed Ma-

* See above, Sect. xiii.

jeſty; had threatened the Prince with a general Reſignation; had thus intimidated him to their own Purpoſes; had by theſe Means uſurped the *legal Prerogatives* of the *Crown*; and applyed them rather to the Support of their own *Influence*, than to the *public Welfare*:---

If the *legal Privileges* of the *People* had fared no better in their Hands:---If Theſe, too, had been ſwallowed up, in the great Gulph of ariſtocratic Power:---If the Members of the lower Houſe, while they ſeemed to be the free Repreſentatives of the People, had been in Truth, a great Part of them, no more than the *commiſſioned Deputies* of their *reſpective Chiefs*, whoſe Sentiments they declared, and whoſe Intereſts they purſued.---

If ſuch a Set of Men, as ſoon as they had loſt their Influence, ſhould now rail at the Privileges of the Crown, as the Engines of Deſpotiſm, though they had been formerly allowed by the Wiſdom of the State, as the occaſional Securities of Freedom.

If

If they ſhould now abſurdly magnify and exalt the Privileges of the lower Houſe, beyond the Limits preſcribed by a free Conſtitution:----If their Pretence ſhould be the Vindication of the People's Rights; while their real Motive was " the *Reſtoration* of their own *exorbitant* " *Power*, founded on an *expected Majority* " of their own *Dependents*:---

If this Conduct was purſued by any Set of Men, they would ſtand convicted of a *clear Mark* of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

Such would be their main *End* or *Purpoſe*: And this *End* would be purſued by *ſuitable Means*: Theſe Means, conſidered in *Union*, would ſtill farther confirm and illuſtrate the End they aimed at: And theſe Means would be ſuch as follow.

SECT. XVII.

A ſecond Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

"THE Patrons of Faction would be "attached to Men, to the Neglect "of Meaſures."

If the ſame Men, when formerly in Power, ſhould have obſtinately adhered to each other in every public Debate and Opinion; ſhould have execrated every Man, as the Enemy of his Country, who diſſented even in the ſlighteſt Article of political Belief:

If on any ſudden Change in the Fountain of Power, a more generous Syſtem of Government ſhould have taken Place: ---If the *Sovereign* had aimed to unite all *honeſt Men* of *all Parties*, and had invited them to co-operate for the Welfare of their Country:---

If theſe Men, determined ſtill to engroſs all public Power, ſhould threaten the Sovereign (as they had effectually threatened

threatened his royal Predeceſſor) with a general Reſignation :---

If their Leaders ſhould be taken at their Word, and unexpectedly ſtripped of all Power and Influence :---

If on this, the Clamours of their attendant Populace ſhould ariſe ; * and for the Sake of the public Tranquillity, Overtures ſhould be made by the Prince to the Diſcontented :----If the *ſame Principle* ſhould ſtill predominate, and *Demands* in Favour of *Men* ſhould be the *leading Objection* of *Accommodation* :---

If theſe Demands ſhould be not only irrational in their Kind, but exorbitant and oppreſſive in their Degree ; requiring a *general Reſtoration* of All the Diſcontented, and a *general Diſmiſſion* of all who were in Power, tho' of known Fidelity to their King and Country :---

If ſuch ſhould be the Conduct of any Set of Men, they would ſtand evidently convicted of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

* See Sect. xix.

SECT. XVIII.

A third Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

"THE Patrons of Faction would be "*ſelf-contradictory* and *inconſiſtent*, not "only on *different*, but on *parallel* Oc- "caſions."

Thus, if the *Exerciſe* of a *Privilege* ſhould be quietly *allowed* to *one* Officer of State, and by the *ſame Perſons* ſhould be *clamoured againſt* in his *Succeſſor:* The Perſons thus *acquieſcing* and *clamouring* by *Turns*, would ſtand convicted of a *ſelf-contradictory* and *inconſiſtent* Conduct: And without deciding on the Propriety or Impropriety of the Privilege in Queſtion, would carry upon them a clear Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

Again, if a certain Mode of political *Influence* on *Dependents* was generally exerciſed among all the Ranks of a free Country: ---- If the ſame Perſons already

characteriſed, ſhould *now condemn* This as a *deſpotic* Meaſure in the *Servants* of the *Crown*, which They themſelves *formerly* exerciſed when in *Power*, and ſtill *continue* to exerciſe towards their *private Dependents*:---Theſe Gentlemen would betray a very notable Inconſiſtence in their Conduct: And therefore, without any Deciſion on the *Rectitude* of ſuch a general *Practice*, would ſtand convicted of an undeniable Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

SECT. XIX.

A fourth Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

"THE Patrons of Faction would endeavour to delude and inflame an "ignorant and licentious Populace againſt "their legal Governors."

A blind and unprincipled Populace have ever been the moſt effectual Engines of Sedition: And above all, Thoſe of the

Capital, being near to the grand Scene of political Contention, muſt ever be a ready and dangerous Engine in the Hands of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

But in a Nation like this, to make the *Populace* of the *Capital* a more ſucceſsful Inſtrument of Sedition, a Degree of Art would be neceſſary. For it appears above, that the *People* of this *Kingdom*, and the *Populace* of its *Cities*, are of a Character eſſentially *oppoſite* to each other: That the *one* is collectively *knowing* and *upright*; the *other*, collectively *ignorant* and *immoral*.*---The firſt Step, therefore, that *Faction* would take, as the ſureſt Method for Succeſs, would be to *confound* the *one* with the *other*; and dignify "the *Clamour* of "the *Populace*," by ſtiling it "*the* VOICE "*of the* PEOPLE."

The Fury of ſuch a Populace, thus awakened by Vanity, Vice, and Ignorance, would ariſe in a Variety of Shapes.

* See above, Sect. xiii.

If

If an Order of the Senate ſhould be given for the Burning of a *Paper* legally declared ſeditious; ſuch a *Populace* would be incited to reſcue it from the Fire: And they who had thus incited them would boaſt, that it was reſcued by the Hands of "*the* PEOPLE."

Every talking Demagogue, who ſhould oppoſe the Meaſures of Government, would be artfully and indiſcriminately obtruded on ſuch an ignorant *Populace*, as a *Patriot* or a *Heroe*. And they who had thus obtruded him would boaſt, that he was the *Favourite* of "*the* PEOPLE."

Every diſtinguiſhed Friend to the Meaſures of Government would be artfully obtruded on ſuch a Populace, as the Enemy of his Country: And They who had thus obtruded him would boaſt, that he was the *Deteſtation* of "*the* PEOPLE."

Every Act of the Legiſlature, which contradicted the Paſſions or partial Intereſts of ſuch a *Populace* or their *Leaders*, would be branded by them, as arbitrary

and

and oppreſſive: And they would boaſt, that it was branded by the *Voice* of "*the* "PEOPLE."

If daily or periodical Papers of Intelligence were circulated from the Capital through the Nation, and Theſe were open to the Admiſſion of every Thing which private Pique, Paſſion, or Intereſt, might ſuggeſt; they would of Courſe become the general Repoſitories of popular Slander: And as *Malice* is always more eager to *accuſe*, than injured *Innocence* to *defend*, theſe Slanders would often ſeem to *preponderate* in the public Ear: And hence, would be boaſted by Thoſe who raiſed them, as the prevailing *Voice* of "*the* "PEOPLE."

Thus, *hatched* by *Licentiouſneſs*, FACTION would attain to its *enormous Growth*: The *unprincipled* among the *Great* would form the *Head*, the *unprincipled* among the *Populace* would form the *Body*, of this *rapacious Monſter*.

SECT.

SECT. XX.

A fifth Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

"THE Abettors of Faction would "throw injurious and undiſtinguiſh- "ing Imputations on every Body of Men "who differed from them in Opinion."

Having thus gained an ignorant and licentious Populace, as the Trumpets of Sedition; the Patrons of Faction would leave no Means untry'd to load their Adverſaries with the moſt envenomed Calumny.

Thus if any miſtaken Principle had formerly been maintained, but was now generally forſaken and derided; a Faction could not be detected by any clearer Mark, than by its Attempt to conjure up the Ghoſt of this *departed* Principle, in order to alarm and terrify not only the *Populace*, but the PEOPLE.

If

If on This Pretence, any Men ſhould attempt to revive Animoſities which Time had bury'd; --- ſhould attempt to divide and diſtract the Subjects of an *united* Kingdom, whoſe *common Welfare* depended on their *Union*; --- ſhould revile all Men without Diſtinction, who were born in a *certain Diſtrict*; and indiſcriminately endeavour to exclude them from a Participation of thoſe public Truſts, Honours, and Emoluments, to which, with the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, they might ſtand intitled by their *Capacity* or *Virtue*: ---Who would not diſcover, in this *unequal Conduct*, a clear and diſtinctive Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction?

Again: If ever there had been a Time, when All who preſumed to *diſſent* in any Degree from thoſe in Power, were indiſcriminately and unjuſtly branded with the Name of *Jacobite* or *Tory*; --- and if Theſe very Men who had beſtowed ſuch Appellations ſhould *now* deal them as freely round, on All who *aſſent* to Thoſe in

in Power:---This were ſurely a clear Indication, that the Spirit of Faction were abroad.

But if, in the Courſe of political Revolutions, ſome of theſe Men's *former Adherents* ſhould *now* be their *Adverſaries*; and ſome *former Adverſaries* ſhould *now* be their *Adherents*; another *characteriſtic* Circumſtance would ariſe: For, Thoſe whom they had once *reviled*, they would now *applaud*, as being the *Friends* of *Liberty*; and Thoſe whom they had formerly *applauded*, they would now *revile*, as having become *Jacobites* or *Tories*.---Such a Conduct, and ſuch *Names* thus *arbitrarily impoſed*, however ſpeciouſly coloured over by the *Pretence* and *Cry* of *Liberty*, might ſeem to ſtand, with all impartial Judges, as a clear *Mark* of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

The Views of ſuch Men would be ſtill more apparent, ſhould they inſinuate, that the *Prince* received Thoſe very Men as his Miniſters and Favourites, whoſe Principles tended

tended to the *Subverſion* of his *Throne* and *Family*. This Inſinuation, indeed, would not ſo much merit *Deteſtation*, as *Contempt* and *Ridicule*.

SECT. XXI.

A ſixth Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

"THE Abettors and Inſtruments of "Faction would promiſcuouſly ca- "lumniate the private Characters of the "principal Individuals of the oppoſing "Party."

It was the juſt Obſervation of an ancient Writer, that "the Wicked is an "Abomination to the Righteous, and the "Righteous an Abomination to the Wick- "ed."---Yet the Meaſures which theſe two Parties take, in their Treatment of each other, are eſſentially different.---The *good* Man never maliciouſly *ſtabs* the *Reputation* of his Neighbour: The *wicked* Man, on

on the contrary, delights in this *moſt practicable*, but *moſt atrocious* of all *Miſchiefs*.---Invenomed Hints, ambiguous Imputations, private Crimes darkly alledged, but void of all Foundation : --- Theſe are the deadly Weapons of the abandoned but cunning Defamer.

Here then is a ſecure and ample Field for every profligate Miniſter of Faction : Here " he toſſeth about Arrows, Fire-" brands, and Death ; and cries, am I " not in Sport ?"

If a Prince, whoſe Words and Actions might juſtly be given, as an Example of Integrity to all his Subjects, ſhould be ambiguouſly accuſed of ſuch Things as his Honour would abhor : ---

If ſuch a Prince ſhould be indirectly charged with Ignorance, for not diſtinguiſhing in a Point of Law, which even ſome of the ableſt Lawyers in his Kingdom had not attended to : ---

If neither the Virtues nor the Condeſcenſion of a Queen could protect her from

from the Inſults of Thoſe whom ſhe had never injured: ---

If any other Branch of a royal Family ſhould be baſely traduced, by the groſſeſt and moſt audacious Calumnies, ſtudiouſly contrived to inflame an ignorant and unbridled Populace: ---

If the Servants of the Crown, and Members of the Legiſlature, who had legally exerted themſelves in Defence of their injured Sovereign, ſhould in their private Character be impudently vilify'd, miſrepreſented, and abuſed; and even their unoffending Families traduced with ſtudy'd and unexampled Virulence: ---

If neither Age nor Virtue ſhould be a Security againſt the Arrows of public Calumny: --- If a MAN of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Worth in private Life, a known and zealous Friend of public Liberty, one of the Ornaments of his Age and Country, ſhould be overwhelmed by a Load of the moſt unprovoked and malicious Slander; merely becauſe he had dared to aſ-

ſert

aſſert his own Right of private Judgment, in Oppoſition to the Opinion of another :---

If theſe Outrages ſhould be publicly *committed* by *ſome*; and *winked* at, or *countenanced*, or *patronized* by *others*;---- ſurely, all honeſt Men ought to join, in declaring their Abhorrence of ſuch atrocious Acts of Licentiouſneſs and Faction, perpetrated in Defiance of All *Laws*, both *human* and *divine*.

SECT. XXII.

Some Objections obviated.

SHOULD it be objected to the Writer, that while he blames the Practice in others, He indiſcriminately characterizeth whole Bodies of Men who diſſent from public Meaſures; he would reply, that the Accuſation is groundleſs: For he hath expreſsly diſtinguiſhed Thoſe who *diſſent* on *Principles* of *Liberty*, from ſuch as

from the Inſults of Thoſe whom ſhe had never injured: ---

If any other Branch of a royal Family ſhould be baſely traduced, by the groſſeſt and moſt audacious Calumnies, ſtudiouſly contrived to inflame an ignorant and unbridled Populace: ---

If the Servants of the Crown, and Members of the Legiſlature, who had legally exerted themſelves in Defence of their injured Sovereign, ſhould in their private Character be impudently vilify'd, miſrepreſented, and abuſed; and even their unoffending Families traduced with ſtudy'd and unexampled Virulence: ---

If neither Age nor Virtue ſhould be a Security againſt the Arrows of public Calumny: --- If a MAN of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Worth in private Life, a known and zealous Friend of public Liberty, one of the Ornaments of his Age and Country, ſhould be overwhelmed by a Load of the moſt unprovoked and malicious Slander; merely becauſe he had dared to aſ-

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aſſert his own Right of private Judgment, in Oppoſition to the Opinion of another :---

If theſe Outrages ſhould be publicly *committed* by *ſome*; and *winked* at, or *countenanced*, or *patronized* by *others*;---- ſurely, all honeſt Men ought to join, in declaring their Abhorrence of ſuch atrocious Acts of Licentiouſneſs and Faction, perpetrated in Defiance of All *Laws*, both *human* and *divine*.

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diſſent on *Motives* of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

Should it be objected, that he hath attacked even *private* Characters, in the Way of indirect Deſcription: This Accuſation would be equally ill-founded. For all perſonal Peculiarities are avoided, ſave only the ſingle Facts alluded to, as the Proofs of his Allegations: Theſe were eſſentially neceſſary for the Support of the Argument; and relate not to *private* Life, but to *public* and *political* Conduct.

Should it be objected, that he hath indirectly cenſured Thoſe, whoſe Conduct he had formerly applauded: He replies, that he never was attached to *Men* but *Meaſures*.

Should it be objected, that ſome of theſe characteriſtic Marks may ſeem to involve Men of good Morals in private Life: He would reply, that the Affections of *good* Men in *private* Life may not *always* extend to the *Public*.

Should

Should it be objected, that ſome of theſe characteriſtic Marks may ſeem to involve Men, who have been eminently ſerviceable to their Country in public Stations. He would reply, that he ever hath been, and ever will be proud to do Juſtice to Merit, when exerciſed in any public Station.

Should it be objected, that he queſtions the Conduct of Thoſe only who are now out of Power: He would reply, that he formerly queſtioned their Conduct with the ſame Freedom, when in the Fulneſs of their Power: And that his Reaſons in both Inſtances were the ſame; becauſe in both Inſtances he judged their general Conduct to be *eſſentially* ill-founded, narrow, ſelfiſh, reprehenſible.

SECT. XXIII.

Of the moſt effectual Means of checking the Growth of Licentiouſneſs and Faction.

THUS the Writer hath endeavoured to lay open the Foundations and Characters of Licentiouſneſs and Faction: He now proceeds to conſider the moſt effectual Means of checking them in their Progreſs; of reſtoring internal Unanimity; and ſecuring public Freedom.

In every national Malady of this Nature, there are two Kinds of Remedies eſſentially diſtinct: the one is palliative, and temporary; the other is radical, and laſting.

The palliative Remedies ought to be firſt applied; becauſe it will appear, that they are the only Means by which we can come at Thoſe which are radical.

'Tis evident, then, that the firſt Advance towards a Cure of this national Evil

Evil muſt ariſe from the ſteady Conduct of the Prince. For Faction, unoppoſed, and led on by the higher Ranks, will never ceaſe in its Demands, till it terminates in the Poſſeſſion of an unbounded ariſtocratic Power: This is a Power, which nothing but the Courage and Steadineſs of the Prince can poſſibly contend with: Becauſe the final Object of ſuch a Faction will always be, "Thoſe high and lucra-"tive Offices of State, which are in *His* "ſole *Diſpoſal.*"

If a Sovereign once gives Way to the Storms in which ſuch a Faction will involve him, his Peace and Freedom, together with Thoſe of his People, are inevitably deſtroyed. On the contrary, if amidſt all the Tumults of Sedition, he diſcovers an unalterable Firmneſs and Fortitude, founded in upright Intentions and real Virtue; the Rage of hopeleſs Faction will by Degrees ſubſide; and a Proſpect of better Times will open upon *Him* and his *People.* This general Truth *might* be

be *commented* on: But, at preſent, the Writer can with Satisfaction leave it to the impartial *Public*, to find a *more inſtructive* and LIVING COMMENT.

SECT. XXIV.

Of a ſecond Remedy.

THE next Remedy, which can effectually aid the Firmneſs of the Prince, muſt be the Steadineſs of the Miniſter, in diſcouraging, as far as in him lies, the Inroads of *Venality* and *Corruption*.

This is a large Topic, and fitter for a Book than a Section: However, what is moſt eſſential to the preſent Subject may be briefly touched on.

A plauſible Objection, then, is here to be obviated: For a late Writer hath very calmly and ſyſtematically attempted to prove the univerſal and unconditional Neceſſity of political Corruption, in all free Governments.*

* See a free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil, Let. v.

What

What follows is the Foundation of his Argument. "All human Government is "the Offspring of Violence and Corrup-"tion; and muſt inherit the Imperfection "of both its Parents." * "All Govern-"ments muſt be adminiſtered by the ſame "Violence and Corruption, to which they "are indebted for their Origin." † "Cor-"ruption (*therefore*) muſt always increaſe "in due Proportion to the Decreaſe of ar-"bitrary Power; ſince where there is leſs "Power to command Obedience, there "muſt be more Bribery to purchaſe it; "or there can be no Government carry'd "on at all." ‡

Such is the Sum of this Gentleman's Argument: To which, the following Obſervations are offered, as a Reply.

There have been two different Pictures given of *Man*, by different Writers, diametrically oppoſite to each other. By ſome, the human Species hath been re-

* Origin of Evil, p. 128. † Ib. p. 129.
‡ Ib. p. 135.

preſented

preſented as a natural Society of Angels; by others, as a Crew of Devils. Both theſe Repreſentations have ariſen from a partial View of Mankind: One Party regarding his *ſocial* Qualities only; the other overlooking Theſe, and fixing on the Appetites which are commonly called the *ſelfiſh*.

Were Mankind of the firſt of theſe Characters, they would need no Law: Were they of the latter, no Law could unite or bind them. The Truth is, they are a Mixture of Both. As they have the ſeveral Modes of Self-Love, for the Preſervation of the Individual; ſo, by *proper Culture*, they gain Habits of Benevolence, Religion, ſocial Prudence, the Love of honeſt Reputation, and ſometimes even a Regard for the general Welfare of the Society to which they belong. As theſe ſocial Paſſions and Regards are ſtrong or weak, frequent or uncommon; the Character of a Nation is good or bad, honeſt or corrupt, upright or profligate,

A Variety of Proofs hath been given of theſe different Degrees of moral Character, in the preceding Parts of this Eſſay *.

But that we may not ſeem to build on a Principle which this Author admits not, we hear him virtually declaring all This himſelf in another Part of his Book. "Here *He (Man)* has an Opportunity "given him of *improving* or *debaſing* his "Nature, in ſuch a Manner as to render "himſelf *fit* for a Rank of *higher Perfection* "and Happineſs; or to *degrade* himſelf to "a State of *greater Imperfection* and Miſe-"ry †." Again, he ſpeaks of a *Reformation* of *Manners*, as a Thing *practicable:* And recommends it, as the only Remedy for political Evil ‡.

But while he treats of the abſolute *Neceſſity* of political Corruption, all the *better Part* of *Man* is *hid*; his *Imperfections* and *Vices* alone are *ſet* in *View*. During the Progreſs of this Argument, if it deſerves that

* See above, Sect. vii, &c.

† Origin of Evil, p. 93. ‡ Ib. 149.

Name,

Name, we hear of nothing but " ſuch " imperfect and *vicious* Creatures as *Men*, " *tyrannizing* over *others* as imperfect and " *vicious* as themſelves *:" We have no- " thing preſented to us, but " Pride, Ava- " rice, and Cruelty on one Side; Envy, " Ignorance, and Obſtinacy on the other; " Injuſtice and Self-Intereſt on both †." In a Word, Mankind are repreſented as an *abandoned* and *incurable* Race, utterly *void* of all *good* Qualities; and ſuch as " muſt be always bribed or beat into Obe- " dience ‡."

Here, then, this Maxim of the abſolute and unconditional Neceſſity of Political Corruption appears in all its Nakedneſs and Deformity: For it is founded on " the ſuppoſed incurable Wickedneſs of " Man:" An Error too glaring to need a Confutation; and which there is ſtill the leſs Occaſion to confute, becauſe this Author himſelf admits the contrary.

* Origin of Evil, p. 126. † Ib. ‡ Ib. p. 130.

It

It follows then, that his leading Propoſition is as falſe in itſelf, as it is pernicious to Society, that "Corruption muſt always "increaſe in due Proportion to the De- "creaſe of arbitrary Power:" Becauſe Virtue and Religion, upright Manners and Principles, properly inſtilled, may much better ſupply Corruption's Place *.

On this Foundation, therefore, it appears, that every upright Miniſter ought, as far as poſſible, to check the Progreſs of Corruption: And tho' at Times he may be embaraſſed, and under a *po-*

* Were it neceſſary to purſue this Gentleman through all the Windings of his political Labyrinth, and trace him to the End of this Courſe, where he ſuddenly ſtarts up in the Form of a ſevere Moraliſt; there could not, perhaps, be exhibited a more ſtriking Inſtance of Self-Contradiction, in the whole Compaſs of literary Debate. At preſent I ſhall only remark, that this Eſſay was publiſhed in the Year 1757, at a Time when the Syſtem of political Corruption much needed ſome kind of Apology, becauſe its fatal Effects began to glare too ſtrongly upon the Nation to be longer doubted. Hence, though we ſhould not inquire "*who* the Author is," we may give a *ſhrewd Gueſs*, "what *political* "*School* he was *bred* in.".

litical

litical Neceſſity of yielding; 'tis clearly both his Duty and his Intereſt to oppoſe this dangerous and encroaching Spirit, in the leading Outlines of his public Conduct.

It is his Duty; both becauſe Corruption can only flouriſh on the Ruins of Virtue and Religion, good Morals and Principles, without which public Liberty is eſſentially deſtroy'd; and becauſe Corruption tends inevitably and invariably to weaken the public Adminiſtration of Government, by filling every high Department with the Venal, the Ignorant, the Selfiſh, the Diſhoneſt *.

It is both his Duty and Intereſt; becauſe *Licentiouſneſs*, and its Attendants, *Venality* and *Faction*, are of an *inſatiable* Appetite. The more the Venal are fed, they grow more importunate: If you gorge one of Theſe to the full, and thus lay him to ſleep; ten will riſe in his Place, every one more clamorous than the firſt.

* See Eſtimate, Part ii.

The

The Miniſter, therefore, both in Conſideration of his own Peace, and the public Welfare, ought as far as poſſible, to obviate this Evil in its *Beginnings*; fortify *Himſelf*, as well as the *State*, with the *Honeſt*, the *Firm*, and the *Capable*; reſiſt, to the utmoſt, the exorbitant Demands of *Venality*: Thus *Faction* will either *bark* itſelf *aſleep*; or *die deſpairing*.

SECT. XXV.

Of ſome concomitant Remedies.

LET us now conſider, what might be in the Power of the *Legiſlature* and the *Magiſtrate* immediately to effect.

1. 'Tis generally acknowledged, that Power naturally follows Property. Therefore exorbitant Property in Individuals muſt always be unfavourable to civil Liberty; muſt always tend to produce Licentiouſneſs and Faction; becauſe it throws exorbitant

exorbitant Power into the Hands of Individuals: And the greater the *Inequality* between the *Poor* and *Rich*, the more the *one* will ever be under the *Influence* of the *other*.

It ſhould ſeem, then, to be the *particular* Intereſt even of the moſt *Wealthy*, if they be the real Friends of Liberty, --- 'tis certainly the *general* Intereſt of a *free Community*; that ſome legal Limitation of Property ſhould take Place. I ſpeak not of the Probability, but the Expediency of ſuch a Meaſure.

2. It follows, that ſome *Regulation* in Reſpect to *Boroughs* would be of great Importance. For in Boroughs, contrary to all ſound Policy, "Power is lodged "without annexed Property." The natural Conſequence is, that "this ill-placed "Power will be ſeized by Thoſe who are "poſſeſſed of exorbitant Property." Thus Power ſettles on its natural Foundation: But a Foundation, in this Inſtance moſt dangerous to Freedom; as it leads to the

Eſtabliſhment

Eſtabliſhment of an Ariſtocracy. In This Inſtance, too, I ſpeak not of the Probability, but the Expediency of the Meaſure.

3. The Limitation of extended Conqueſt and Empire might ſeem an Object worthy the attention of the higheſt Powers.--- ROME periſhed by its Avidity of unbounded Empire. Colonies, when peopled beyond a certain Degree, become a Burthen to the Mother Country: They exhauſt her Numbers; they diſtract her Attention; they divide her compacted Strength. Such Extent of Colonies, as may be neceſſary to maintain the Empire of the Seas, will always be a juſt Object of *Britiſh* Regard. More than this, ſound Policy perhaps could hardly dictate.

4. This Limitation is of more Importance, as it would naturally ſet Bounds to another Exceſs; I mean, That of Trade and Wealth. This, the Writer knows, is of all other Topics, the moſt unpopular: Notwithſtanding which, he preſumes to perſiſt in what appears to Him a demonſtrative

ſtrative Truth, that "exorbitant Trade and "Wealth are moſt dangerous to private "Virtue, and therefore to public Free-"dom." The Topic is too large, to be here inſiſted on. He therefore refers to what he hath already written on his Subject;* which hath been much clamoured againſt, indeed; but never confuted.†

* See Eſtimate, Part iii. paſſim,

† For the Conviction of Thoſe who chuſe rather to attend to *preſent* than *future* Conſequences, the following Circumſtance may deſerve notice. Much hath been ſaid "on the Cauſe of the preſent exorbitant "Price of Proviſions, and general Diſtreſs of the Poor:" Every Cauſe hath been aſſigned except the true one, which ſeems to be "the ſinking Value of Money, ariſing "neceſſarily from the exorbitant Increaſe of Trade and "Wealth." If this be ſo, it follows, that the Evil is incurable, excepting only by a general augmentation of the Wages of the Poor.---Now This, which is the neceſſary Effect of the Exorbitancy of Commerce, naturally tends (by the increaſed Price of Manufactures) to the Deſtruction of Commerce. If the Exorbitancy of Trade ſhould ſtill run higher, this Evil will be aggravated in Proportion. The Conſequences which muſt follow, are ſuch as the Writer chuſeth not to enlarge on; becauſe he knows, the Spirit of the Times would not bear it.

5. The

5. The immediate Care of upright Manners and Principles might ſeem an Object worthy the ſtricteſt Attention both of the Legiſlature and Magiſtrate.

To this End, if the growing Spirit of *Novelty* and *Adoption* could by any Means be checked, it would be a Work attended with the moſt ſalutary Conſequences. The Writer would not willingly be thought chimerically to adopt all the Rigours of the *Spartan* State: But could wiſh to ſee a Law enacted, parallel to That of LACEDÆMON, by which their raw and unexperienced Youth were prohibited from bringing Home the new Follies and Vices of foreign Countries, picked up in a premature and too early Travel.*

He would by no Means diſcourage the *Freedom* of the *Preſs:* Yet, ſure, its *Licentiouſneſs* might ſeem an Object of the Magiſtrate's Regard. The Search of Truth is good: But to ſearch for This in the

* See Eſtimate, Vol. ii. Part i. Sect. 10.

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* See Eſtimate, Vol. ii. Part i. Sect. 10.

Hoards of *Irreligion*, is like ſearching for *Hope* in PANDORA's *Box*; where the ſole Reward of Induſtry can only be *Peſtilence*, *Deſpair* and *Death*. National Virtue never was maintained, but by national Religion: He, therefore, who ſhakes the eſſential Principles of Religion, undermines the Virtue of his Fellow-Subjects; and therefore deſerves to feel the Rigour of the Law, as a determined *Enemy* of his *Country*. ----This may ſeem a practicable Remedy: But how to deſtroy thoſe irreligious Writings, which already lie expoſed on Stalls and Counters, or depoſited in private Libraries, like ſo many Heaps of Poiſon, for the Gratification of Vice, and the Deſtruction of Virtue:---Or how to pluck from the Minds of Men thoſe poiſoned Arrows, which theſe Authors have already planted there!---That were a *Taſk indeed!*---The Shaft is already flown; and cannot be recalled: And this Nation, thro' ſucceeding Times will have Cauſe to ſay,----" *Hæret Lateri lethalis Arundo.*"

Immoral

Immoral Writings ſhould ſeem no leſs the Object of the Magiſtrate's Attention. Tho' Theſe may not ſhake the *Principles*, yet they inevitably corrupt the *Manners* of a Nation.

Perſonal Defamation, or Calumny thrown on *private* Characters, is another Evil, which ſeems riſing at preſent with unheard-of Aggravations. Two *flagrant* Inſtances of This Enormity the Writer will paſs unnoticed, leſt he ſhould ſeem to inſult over the *Exiled* or the *Dead*.*

* In theſe two Kinds of modern Profligacy, *immoral Writings*, and *perſonal Calumny*, there are *two* Authors now ſaid to be living in theſe Kingdoms with Impunity; who, in a better policed State, would ere this have felt the full Weight of that public Puniſhment and Infamy, which is due to the Enemies of Mankind. One of theſe writ a Volume of execrable *Memoirs*, for the Corruption of Youth and Innocence: The other, a *Reverie*, or *Dream*, which *Hunger* and *Malevolence* probably conſpired to ſuggeſt, replete with the moſt impudent Falſehoods, and injurious Calumnies on Individuals, for the Entertainment of *baſe* and *envious* Minds.

SECT. XXVI.

Of the chief and eſſential Remedy.

ALL theſe may be regarded as temporary and concomitant Supports of Freedom: but the chief and eſſential Remedy to Licentiouſneſs and Faction, the fundamental Means of the laſting and ſecure Eſtabliſhment of civil Liberty, can only "lie in a general and preſcribed Im-"provement of the Laws of Education."

We have ſeen above, that upright Manners and Principles are the only Baſis of true Liberty; that the infant Mind, if left to its own untutored Dictates, inevitably wanders into ſuch Follies and Vices, as tend to the Deſtruction of itſelf and others. We have ſeen, that the early and continued Culture of the Heart can alone produce ſuch upright Manners and Principles, as are neceſſary to check and ſubdue the ſelfiſh Paſſions of the Soul; and that Liberty

berty can only ariſe from a general Subordination of Theſe, to the public Welfare. We have ſeen theſe Truths confirmed, by an Appeal to the State of three famed Republics, which by Turns *aroſe* and *fell*, on the very Principles here delivered. We have ſeen the Defects, as well as Excellencies, of our own public Conſtitution, both *civil* and *religious*: That its Form is excellent and unrivaled; but that the practical *Application* of this unrivaled Excellence is attended with Defects incurable: That it hath all along been inevitably counterworked by Manners and Principles diſcordant with its Genius, and diſcordant with each other: That for Want of a preſcribed Code of Education, to which all the Members of the Community ſhould legally ſubmit, the Manners and Principles on which alone the State can reſt, are ineffectually inſtilled, are vague, fluctuating, and ſelf-contradictory.

Nothing, then, is more evident, than that ſome Reform in this great Point, is

neceſſary, for the Security of public Freedom. Till this be effected, in Spite of all temporary Remedies, Licentiouſneſs and Faction, tho' checked for a Time, will ever be gathering new Strength, and returning to the Charge with redoubled Fury.

This Reform, to ſome, may appear eaſy to effect: By others it will be derided, as wholly impracticable. Perhaps the Truth may lie between theſe two Opinions: To throw the Manners and Principles of a Nation into any new Channel, is certainly a Work of no ſmall Difficulty,---On the other Hand, we ſeem to have many Materials lying round us, ready to be converted into the Means of this great Work. A pure and rational Religion; a generous Syſtem of Policy, founded on that Religion; Manners, tho' apparently degenerating, yet by no Means generally profligate; much true Religion, Integrity, and Honour among the *middle* Ranks; many Inſtances of *domeſtic Worth* among the *higher*; and in Spite of the Temptations that ſurround

round the *Great*, true *Piety*, and the *moral Virtues* adorning the *moſt exalted Station*.

Therefore, without dreaming of the perfect Republic of PLATO;----and fairly acknowledging the incurable Defect of our political State, in not having a correſpondent and adequate Code of Education inwrought into its firſt Eſſence;---- we may yet hope, that in a ſecondary and inferior Degree, ſomething of this Kind may be ſtill *inlaid:* It cannot have that perfect Efficacy, as if it had been originally *of the Piece:* Yet, if well conducted, it may ſtrengthen the weak Parts; and *alleviate* Defects, though not compleatly remove them.

Among *what Ranks*, in the Writer's Opinion, theſe *Defects* in *Education* chiefly *lie*, may be ſufficiently collected from ſome of the preceding Sections. But as to the moſt *effectual Methods* of *relieving* theſe *Defects*, he pretends not at preſent to attempt ſo great a Subject.

This,

This, however, he is well perſwaded of; that till ſomething of the Kind be attempted and performed; all the laboured Harangues that can be given from the *Bench*, the *Pulpit*, or the *Preſs*, will be of little Avail: They may tend *occaſionally* to *obviate* ſome of the *Evils* of *Licentiouſneſs*; but never can *radically cure them*.

SECT. XXVII.

The Concluſion.

THESE Remedies, however *juſt* in their *Nature*, can only be *effectual* through a proper Application: And this can only lie "in a zealous and unfeigned "Union of the *Honeſt* among all *Ranks* "and *Parties*, for the *Accompliſhment* of "*theſe Ends*, againſt the Patrons and "Inſtruments of Licentiouſneſs and Fac-"tion."

This

This Union, at firſt View, ſeems of ſuch a Nature as could hardly need to be inforced: Yet it is frequently retarded by ſeveral Circumſtances.

Among the *Great*, this rational Union is often counteracted by the Ties of falſe Honour; a dangerous Principle, which we have already noted, as being productive of Party-Rage and Faction.* This Principle, even in honeſt Minds, will ſometimes prevail over the Dictates of Religion and private Virtue. On this falſe Foundation, political Connections are often maintained, in Defiance of a juſt Senſe of public Utility: While the unhappy Man who acts on this miſtaken Motive, is inwardly rent by two contrary and contending Powers. Severe Moraliſts may perhaps diſcard ſuch a Character from the Liſt of the *Honeſt:* But it ſhould ſeem, that he is rather an Object of Clemency than Indignation. Remove but the unhappy Prejudice from his Breaſt;

* See above, p. 92.

And

And ſuch a Character would preſs forward among the firſt, towards the *Goal* of *public Virtue.*

Again: This rational and ſalutary Union may be retarded by Connections of *Friendſhip*, *Gratitude*, or *Blood.* This Cauſe tends to confirm and extend the Influence of the former. *Fathers*, *powerful Friends*, and *Patrons*, connect themſelves with Parties, and cleave to them on a miſtaken Principle: *Sons*, *obliged Friends*, and *Dependents*, are naturally inliſted in their Party; and are rivetted in it, not only by *falſe Honour*, but *Education*, *Gratitude* *Affection.* How peculiarly unfortunate is this Circumſtance; that the *generous Paſſions* ſhould ever become the *Adverſaries* of *public Virtue.*

The ſame falſe Attachment to friends, Patrons, and Relations, naturally prevails, in a certain Proportion, among the middle Ranks of the Kingdom. Their Intereſts, Paſſions, and Prejudices, are not ſo immediately concerned as Thoſe of the higher Ranks: and therefore 'tis natural

to

to ſuppoſe, that their mutual Attachments of miſtaken Honour or private Affection, will upon the Whole be more moderate and leſs culpable. Yet ſtill, while theſe falſe Attachments are prevalent among the *Great*, the *People* muſt in ſome Degree catch the Infection, from the various Relations which they bear to their Superiors. Hence untractable Prejudices ariſe, and are maintained: While *Meaſures* are leſs regarded, than the *Party* which *adopts* them.

But beſides This, another Circumſtance ariſeth, which inevitably tends to *diſunite*, and *diſtract* the *Honeſt* among the *People*; even when their perſonal Attachments are conquered by their Integrity, Their *Diſperſion* in the Country hath already been remarked, as a Circumſtance worthy of Attention. Here it meets us again, as a Cauſe of their frequent *Diſunion*. We have ſeen how naturally (under the preſent State of Things) every factious Clamour that riſeth in the Capital, is tranſmitted with aggravated Circumſtances, through the whole

whole Kingdom.* And the People of the Villages being eaſy of Belief, becauſe not ſuſpecting the abandoned Profligacy of theſe *Town-defamers*, are apt to receive every inſinuated *perſonal Slander*, as a *Truth*. Theſe Calumnies being ſeldom contradicted by the injured Party, take Root in the Minds of the leſs knowing. Hence doubts ariſe; Surmiſes and Diſlikes are ſpread; Facts, though void of all Foundation, are alledged and perſiſted in; the more credulous Part are miſled: Thus an honeſt People are divided; and not only a *Province* or a *Village*, but even an *Houſe* often ſet at Variance within itſelf.

Theſe Contentions *ſometimes* ariſe to a Degree which is ridiculous: And have formerly been ſo deſcribed *without Exception*, by the Tools of Faction. Notwithſtanding This, every Friend of Liberty ought to grieve, if a *free*, an *honeſt*, and a *ſenſible* PEOPLE ſhould ever deſiſt (were it poſſi-

* See above, Sect. xix. p. 130.

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ble) to debate on Affairs of Government; Tho' they may be occaſionally alarmed and miſled on ſlight Occaſions, yet their mature and collective Judgment on important Subjects, will *ſeldom* be *erroneous*. On this Foundation, MONTESQUIEU's Remark is ſolid: "Tell me not, that ſuch "a People will ſometimes *reaſon ill*:" 'Tis ſufficient, "that *they reaſon*.*"

The Guilt and ill Conſequences then ariſe from the malevolent Clamours of the Capital, tranſmitted thence to the Provinces. Theſe Clamours, though not of Power to ſeduce an *honeſt* PEOPLE into actual Sedition, are yet often ſufficient to *alarm* and *divide* them.†

Much Caution, therefore, ought to be uſed by the Inhabitants of the *Country*, how they give Credit to the *political* Rumours of the *Town*; which are ſeldom ſpread without Deſign; and are in general ſpread moſt induſtriouſly by the Malevolent. They who act on good Prin-

* L'Eſprit des Loix.

† See above, Sect. xiii. p. 114.

ciples,

ciples, are apt to truſt to the native Force of Truth: The Patrons of Falſehood are conſcious of a Defect *here*; and therefore endeavour to ſupply it by a miſapply'd Diligence and Cunning.

One Mark of Licentiouſneſs and Faction is peculiarly applicable to theſe Clamours from the Metropolis: If they are fraught with *perſonal Calumny*, and attack private Characters, they aſſuredly come from the *Enemies* of *Virtue* and *Freedom*.

All Theſe, therefore, a *ſenſible* and *honeſt* PEOPLE will learn to *ſuſpect* and *deride*. This Foundation once laid, they will not be far from a *general Union* againſt the *hidden Deſigns* of *Licentiouſneſs* and *Faction*.

In Concluſion, therefore, let the *Honeſt* among every *Rank* and *Party* recollect; that their firſt and higheſt Obligations are to God, their King, and Country, That every *ſubordinate* Connection ought to *yield* to *Theſe*: That true *Honour* can never be at *Variance* with the Laws of *Religion* and *Virtue*:

Virtue: That if any *Deſertion* be *ſhameful* it is the *Deſertion* from *Truth* and the Welfare of their *Country:* If any *Attachment* be *honourable*, it is an impartial *Attachment* to the *public Weal*, unbiaſſed by private Affections and Regards. If any *Acknowledgment* be the certain Mark of a *great* and *ingenuous* Mind, it is the *Acknowledgment* of *its own Errors*, or thoſe of a *Patron*, *Friend*, or *Anceſtor*.

Theſe Remarks the Writer ſubmits to the Impartiality and Candor of his Countrymen; deſiring that they may be regarded as his Mite, thrown in towards the Accompliſhment of the Sovereign's Wiſh, on his Acceſſion to the Throne; that of "founding the Liberty and Happineſs of "this Kingdom on the ſolid Baſis of *Re-*"*ligion*, and *Virtue*, and uniting ALL HO-"NEST MEN in the ſteady Proſecution of "this great Purpoſe.

THE END.

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